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TORONTO

Bacon's Essays

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION & NOTES BY

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MACMILLAN AND CO, LIMITED
51. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON

1915

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First Edition 1883

Reprinted 1890, 1892, 1894, 1895, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1904 1905, 1907, 1908, 1911, 1913

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INTRODUCTION.

THERE are certain periods in the world's history which have a special attraction for those who are watching with interest the intellectual and moral development of India. Such a period is the age of Socrates and the Sophists in Greece. Then, as now in India, the belief in an old mythology was being shattered, tradition, authority, and custom, were no longer accepted as adequate sanctions for moral rules and political institutions. In a word, a spirit of rational inquiry and criticism was supervening upon an age of childlike faith. Such a period again is the age of the Reformation and the Revival of Learning. Here, too, we have a revolt of reason against authority. The dangers of such a movement were greater in Greece than in modern Europe. There was no political stability in any Grecian city, and therefore no natural resistance to revolutionary doctrines. There was no organized or powerful system of scientific or moral beliefs to check the free play of crude and wanton speculation. In this respect there is a close analogy between Greece and India. Both countries suffered in the same ways and from the same causes. The Indian mind was bewildered, at the same time that it was attracted, by the novelty of English

philosophy and science Here, as in Greece the uprooting of old beliefs has begotten a premature and excessive scepticism, and an exaggerated distrust of everything established The fascination of a new intellectual world has produced a recklessness in speculation and criticism, which time and experience only can correct Lastly, a gulf has been set between old and young, and there are dangerous disruptions in families and in society The spirit of the sixteenth century was a more serious one The Church had established over the world a dominion which was not to be lightly attacked or easily overthrown On its religious side, the new movement was, in its essence, a revolt in favour of high spiritual principles On its secular side, it was a free and generous interest in the new world presented by literature, and in the promises of science India has differed from Europe in this respect, that Europe had by serious struggle and effort to create for herself that great body of knowledge which she has presented as a gift to India It may be doubted whether this difference represents pure gain to India—"Difficulty is a severe instructor, set over us by the supreme ordinance of a parental guardian and legislator, who knows us better than we know ourselves, as he loves us better too"

With the sixteenth century the modern world begins The spirit of its religion, its philosophy, and its science is our spirit Reason was asserting, vs against authority, that independence which is still our dearest object Bacon is one of the most interesting figures of that interesting age He represents its deep patriotism, its patient effort, its wide interests, its high aims, its lofty enthusiasm His earliest and chief interest in life was

the reform of scientific method When only twelve years and three months old he was sent to Cambridge His experience there was disappointing to him Aristotle reigned supreme in the schools, and Bacon was struck with "the unfruitfulness of his way" Science had little or nothing to show in the way of results, and nothing, it occurred to him, was to be hoped for, until a new method was invented and applied To supply this want became henceforth the passion of his life Writing to Lord Burleigh at the beginning of his thirty-second year, he says, "I have taken all knowledge to be my province, and if I could purge it of two sorts of rovers, whereof the one with frivolous disputations, confutations, and verborities, the other with blind experiments and auricular traditions and impostures, hath committed so many spoils, I hope I should bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries the best state of that province" There was, he complains, no "art of invention" Such discoveries as had been made were the result of accident, not of methodical and rational inquiry The so called induction that was practised was nothing but a process of hasty generalization The human mind had neglected those artificial aids which alone can enable it to cope with the subtlety of nature Impatience and an undue eagerness to show results had led to premature dogmatizing and hypothesis Conclusions had been deduced from premises which were mere combinations of inaccurate, ill-defined, inadequate notions of things Instead of ascertaining the laws of phenomena, science had been content to point out the final causes of things Above all, no attempt had been made to compare and co-ordinate

the results of the different branches of inquiry. Besides the mistakes into which men had been led by peculiarities of temperament and education by language, and by an exaggerated respect for the authority of great names, there are certain fallacies to which the human mind is from its very nature liable. "The mind of man is far from the nature of a clear and equal glass, wherein the beams of things should reflect according to their true incidence. Nay, it is rather like an enchanted glass, full of superstition and imposture, if it be not delivered and reduced." These inherent and universal tendencies to error Bacon calls "idols of the tribe." The times in the world's history in which learning of any kind had flourished had been but few, and even in them inquiry had been directed rather to ethics, politics, and theology, than to natural science. The progress of science had been further impeded by the jealousy of theologians and statesmen, as well as by the credulity and frivolity of professed students, and the ignorance and affectation of professed teachers. It seemed, however, to Bacon that there were grounds for hopefulness in his day, partly because of the unexpected discoveries which science had recently made, partly because of the extension of cosmography. "It may be truly affirmed, to the honour of these times, and in a virtuous emulation with antiquity, that this great building of the world had never throughlights made in it, till the age of us and our fathers." Two things were wanted to secure progress—a right conception of the end and aim of science, and a method which should correct the natural defects of the intellect, should put all inquirers on one level, and should be certain in its results. "Men have entered into a desire

of learning and knowledge, sometimes upon a natural curiosity and inquisitive appetite, sometimes to entertain their minds with variety and delight, sometimes for ornament and reputation, and sometimes to enable them to victory of wit and contradiction, and most times for lucre and profession, and seldom sincerely to give a true account of their gift of reason, to the benefit and use of men as if there were sought in knowledge a couch whereupon to rest a searching and restless spirit, or a terrace for a wandering and variable mind to walk up and down with a fair prospect, or a tower of state for a proud mind to raise itself upon, or a fort or commanding ground for strife and contention, or a shop for profit or sale, and not a rich storehouse for the glory of the Creator and the relief of man's estate" Over and over again Bacon insists that knowledge is to be judged by its results. *By its fruit ye shall know it* "The true relation between the nature of things and the nature of the mind is as the sticing and decoration of the bridal chamber of the mind and the universe, the Divine goodness assisting, out of which marriage let us hope (and be this the prayer of the bridal song) there may spring helps to man, and a line and race of inventions that may in some degree subdue and overcome the necessities and miseries of humanity" Fruit, in fact, is not so much the justification as the test of knowledge Bacon is not degrading knowledge by representing it as an instrument for promoting the comfort of man He was quite aware that study is a duty imposed upon us by the possession of our talents, that it is a source of innocent pleasure, that it is the handmaid of religion, and that it is the condition of all moral and spiritual perfection God is

disgraced and man rendered miserable by ignorance and the barbarism which attends it. The removal of superstition, refinement of manners, and improvement of morals are all included in the *fruit* of knowledge. Bacon was not thinking merely of additions to man's stock of material comforts. But he was deeply impressed with the idea that what nature does we can do, if we can only find out how she does it. And man may, if he will, possess himself of the key to the interpretation of nature. "The spirit of man is as the lamp of God, wherewith he searcheth the inwardness of all secrets." It was Bacon's mission to point out the vast dominion which a perfected science would open up to man, and at the same time to point out the road which man must follow if he would enter into possession of his kingdom. "I most humbly," he says, "and fervently pray to God that, remembering the sorrows of mankind and the pilgrimage of this our life, wherein we wear out days few and evil, he will vouchsafe through my hands to endow the human family with new mercies." It is ordained that man shall possess nothing but by the sweat of his brow. Power can be gained only through knowledge, and knowledge can be reached only by a patient and methodical study of nature. We must be content to be the servants and interpreters of nature. We must become as little children, if we wish to enter into "the kingdom of man."

Fired with this idea of a perfect science which, besides being a fresh revelation of God's glory, should also be fraught with untold blessings to man, Bacon projected "a total reconstruction of sciences, arts, and all human knowledge, raised upon the proper foundations," namely,

"experience of every kind, and the same well examined and weighed." This *Great Instauration* was to consist of six parts. In the first part he proposed "to exhibit a summary or general description of the knowledge which the human race in his day possessed, taking note at the same time of things omitted which ought to be there." This part of the scheme is represented by the *Advancement of Learning*, and the expanded translation of it known as the *De Augmentis Scientiarum*. After this was to come the *New Organon*, or Bacon's own scientific method. This method was, in the first place, to be inductive. But it was to differ altogether from that hasty process of generalization from a few casual observations, which generally passed by the name of induction. Experience was to be analyzed. By a process of exclusion and rejection conclusions were to be reached, the truth of which could not be doubted. The mind was to be led gradually and regularly from one axiom to another, the most general being reached last, so that no loophole might be left by which error could creep in. Lastly men were to be warned against such tendencies to error as are ineradicable, as well as against those that are accidental. While instruments and experiments were to supply the failures and correct the errors of sense. The experience which this method of interpretation presupposes was to be accumulated in a *Natural and Experimental history*, which was to form the third part of the *Instauration*. It was to supply the intellect with fit matter to work upon, as the *Logic* supplied it with safeguards to guide and control its working. It was to be a complete and exhaustive description of the phenomena of nature as revealed by observation and experi-

ment Bacon strangely enough, thought that, if a sufficient number of workers were employed, such a history might in a short time be compiled, and that then nothing would remain to complete the sum of knowledge but to interpret the "stuff and matter" thus supplied according to the rules of his Logic. Bacon's own contributions to this history are to be found in the second volume of Ellis and Spedding's edition of his works. The Natural and Experimental history was to be followed by the Ladder of the Intellect. As all rules and reasonings are made more intelligible by examples, Bacon proposed in this part of his scheme "to set forth examples of inquiry and invention according to his method, exhibited by anticipation in some particular subjects, choosing such subjects as are at once the most noble in themselves, and most different from one another that there may be an example in every kind." This was to be followed by Anticipations of the New Philosophy, or conclusions which Bacon himself had arrived at, but which, as not being discovered and proved by his new method, were to be accepted only provisionally. Last of all was to come the New Philosophy or Active Science — "the apocalypse or true vision of the footsteps of the Creator imprinted on his creatures," which will be revealed by the proper "Interpretation of Nature." Bacon did not do more than write the prefaces to the fourth and fifth parts. If we wish to understand what practical results he anticipated from that "legitimate, chaste, and severe course of inquiry" which he had propounded, we must read his *New Atlantis*.

But Bacon's interests were not confined to the advance-

ment of science. There is nothing, he says, in being and action, which should not be drawn into contemplation and doctrine. He was anxious that "pragmatical men may not go away with an opinion that learning is like a lark that can mount, and sing, and please herself, and nothing else but may know that she holdeth as well of the hawk, that can soar aloft, and can also descend and strike upon the prey." No more keen observer of life and affairs than Bacon ever lived. He delighted in the writings of moralists, like Seneca, Lucian, and Montaigne of critics of character, like Tacitus, Plutarch, and Suetonius and of critics of affairs, like Cicero and Machiavelli. His curiosity had been whetted and his mind enlarged by travel. In the *Essays* he presents himself as the moralist, the statesman, and the man of the world. He calls them "certain brief notes set down rather significantly than curiously not vulgar, but of a kind whereof men shall find much in experience and little in books." As we read them, we naturally compare Bacon to one of those old Romans whom he himself describes as walking at certain hours in the Forum, and giving audience to those that would use their advice. They are specimens of that wisdom which arises out of an universal insight into the affairs of the world. They come home, he says, to men's business and bosoms. He describes them truly as being not set treatises, but "dispersed meditations." It was a favourite idea with him that such was the best form of writing in matters relating to conduct. The *Essays* are the fruits of his observation of life. They reflect his experience of men and the world. The most curious are those which treat of cunning, of suitors, of wisdom for a man's self, of

simulation and dissimulation and other subjects of the kind. They reveal a habit of thought and action which is naturally generated under despotic rule. When all depends on the favour of one man, men will intrigue to gain his favour. There is probably nothing in the whole range of literature which would be more appreciated in an Indian darbar than these *Essays* of Bacon and the *Prince* of Machiavelli. Bacon often checks himself, as if half ashamed of the practices which he is criticising, if not recommending. He knew quite well the moral dangers that beset a public man. But he had laid himself out to get on in the world, and success then was hard to attain without servility, adulation, and complacency. The very advantages which he possessed of tact and address were an additional danger to him. Left a poor man by his father's death, he found himself forced at the beginning of his career to become a squire to those in power. At first he wanted a place chiefly with a view to securing leisure and means for carrying out his scientific work. During the reign of Elizabeth all his applications for office were unsuccessful. Hope deferred made his heart grow sick. Time was passing, and with it the chances of accomplishing that reform of learning, which was the dominant interest of his life. He was conscious too of great abilities, which might be turned to the advantage of the state. In the House of Commons he found his talents recognised, and his judgment respected. The traditions of his family made him look naturally to a public career. Life and its problems, the world and its honours, the court and its pageantry had a real attraction for him. Yet he remained outside the charmed circle of office. The queen

probably thought it unnecessary to reward him with a permanent place, seeing that he was always ready and able to perform such occasional services as were required of him. He was a man of wisdom and discretion beyond his years, an eloquent and thoughtful speaker,* a keen observer, but above all a pliant instrument. Just as in after times he could sound the very depths of subservience when he thought he had offended Villiers, so under Elizabeth he was willing to appear as the prosecutor of his friend Essex, because hesitation or refusal would have prejudiced his own interests. Promotion came to him under Elizabeth's successor. The history of his advancement may be told in his own words. Writing to the king, he says, "You found me of the Learned Counsel, Extraordinary, without patent or fee, a kind of *indivdum vagum*. You established me, and brought me into ordinary. Soon after you placed me Solicitor, where I served seven years. Then your Majesty made me your Attorney or Procurator General. Then a Privy Councillor, while I was Attorney, a kind of miracle of your favour, that had not been in many ages. Then Keeper of your Seal, and because that was a kind of planet and not fixed, Chancellor. And when your

* "He was full of gravity in his speaking. His language, when he could spare, or pass by a jest, was nobly censorious. No man ever spoke more neatly, more prestly, more weightily, or suffered less emptiness, less idleness, in what he uttered. No member of his speech but consisted of his own graces. His hearers could not cough, or look aside from him, without loss. He commanded, where he spoke, and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power. The fear of every man that heard him was, lest he should make an end."—Ben Jonson

Majesty could raise me no higher, it was your grace to illustrate me with beams of honour, first making me Baron Verulam, and now Viscount St Albans" The key to his life is to be found in his favourite quotation, "My soul hath been a stranger in the course of my pilgrimage" Destined by inclination and capacity to be a student, he found himself engrossed with the cares and occupations of public life Animated by a high ideal of government and law, he had to stoop to be the instrument of the petty policy, the mean conceptions, and the narrow jealousies of James Profoundly religious at heart, and filled with high principles of morality, he had yet to adapt himself to the conditions of a selfish and intriguing world, and to study and practise the arts by which material success in life was to be won To James he was an invaluable servant But the very conditions of service were full of danger to one who combined so much ability with so much suppleness We need not wonder at the cynical contempt which he sometimes expresses for human nature He found favourites to be conciliated, and rivals to be outwitted Ready obedience was more valued than honest independence Courtly deference was necessary to obtain commendation for conscientious and useful work

It was Bacon's practice through life to record his opinions on the current questions of the day, and even when the king failed to appreciate his higher aims and statesmanship, yet he could always understand and profit by his knowledge of men, and his keen insight into the requirements of expediency Bacon said truly of himself that he was never the author of immoderate or unsuccessful counsels, and that he had always desired to have

things carried in pleasant ways. He was just the man to smooth away by the practical wisdom of compromise the differences which could not but arise between an arbitrary king like James and his subjects. He was a strong defender of the king's prerogative. He regarded monarchy as the earliest and most natural form of government, as being only an extension of the original patriarchal authority. But he wished it to be limited as in England, not despotic as in Turkey. He saw the economic and social dangers of having too large an idle class. At the same time he thought an order of nobles useful, partly as an ornament and protection to the monarch, partly as a security to the people against oppression. He saw to the full the importance of trade, and recommended the regulation of it by law in ways of which we should not approve. With regard to the masses of the people, he says that they must above all things be warlike. War is to the state what exercise is to the body. Prettexts for a declaration of war should never be wanting, when the interests of the state demand war. Our views on this subject are different. The difference is due partly to an improved morality, but partly also to our having learnt, what Bacon did not know, that the industrial prosperity of one country requires peace and prosperity in other nations. Bacon thought of war partly as being useful in diverting popular attention from internal grievances. The position of England, too, among the Protestant powers in his day suggested, if it did not actually demand, a military policy. True to his principle of turning observation and reflection to account for the benefit of man, Bacon was constantly revolving projects of practical reform. He

was specially interested in the codification of law and the simplification of procedure. He was the determined foe of empiricism in politics. "It is almost without instance contradictory," he says, "that ever any government was disastrous that was in the hands of learned governors." One of his reasons for supporting the English form of government was that it represented government by intelligence. He was a strong advocate of Parliaments, but in all matters of importance he thought that the king and not the Parliament should take the initiative. He objected altogether to the position into which James was drifting with regard to Parliament. It seemed to him politically dangerous, and altogether beneath the dignity of the Crown, that the king should become a mere suitor to Parliament, dependent for his supplies upon the concessions which the Commons could wrest from him. It seemed to him that the king should meet the Commons with proposals for legislation, and that they should inform and assist him with advice as to the wishes, the interests, and the grievances of the people. Common dangers and common patriotism had grappled Elizabeth to the souls of her people with hoops of steel. In Hooker's account of government we find no suggestion of that divergence of interest between Sovereign and people which was implied in subsequent theories of contract, and which was persistently showing itself in the dealings of James with his Parliaments. Bacon's studies in Greek and Italian history had familiarized him with the conception of social order as the result of a delicate balance of power, which might at any time be disturbed. We find him constantly endeavouring to keep irritating questions of

principle in the background, and to effect a compromise between parties on the particular difficulties that might arise. He talks of setting one powerful noble against another, of balancing the gentry by the higher nobility, and the higher nobility by the people. His historical studies will also account for his exaggerated ideas of the political results which can be produced by the intelligence and influence of individuals.

The conciliatory nature of Bacon's policy is nowhere more manifest than in his utterances with regard to religion. He had himself been educated in a strict and narrow school of theology. The policy which he advocated, however, was a policy of toleration. His Essay on Superstition reflects the natural fear of Catholicism felt by men at a time when the life of the Sovereign was in danger from Catholic plots. The relation of the State to the Church was a question which could not then be overlooked. All matters affecting Church Government, Bacon says, have two considerations, "the one in themselves, the other how they stand compatible and agreeable to the civil state." He tried his utmost to still the rage of doctrinal controversy within the Church itself. He hated controversy of every kind. In religious matters especially he deprecated it. It seemed to him both fruitless and wicked. Theological controversies, he says, have generally turned upon subjects which the human intellect can never comprehend, or have resulted from attempts to raise human inferences to the dignity of revealed dogmas. He draws a clear distinction between theology or revealed religion, and natural religion, which he defines as "that knowledge or rudiment of knowledge concerning God which may be obtained by

the contemplation of His creature. The greatness, the power, and the wisdom of God are revealed in the book of His works. But of His nature and will we can know so much only as He has chosen to reveal in the book of His word. The contents of the latter are to be accepted on faith. We are to believe absolutely what Scripture says, and the greater the difficulty, the greater the merit of belief. Reason must be content with the task of understanding and interpreting, so far as she can, the text of the Bible. There is much in it that will always appear puzzling and even contradictory, but we must be content to accept the fact. God has willed that our knowledge of Him should, in this life at least, be imperfect. Our duty is to accept reverently what He has chosen to tell us of Himself. But we are not to pry into that which He has hidden. All must accept what God has positively said, but no man may compel another to accept his own individual interpretations and inferences.

Such a divorce of faith from reason is, of course, quite impossible. At the same time Bacon's position is intelligible enough. His own acceptance of the Christian creed was little more than nominal. The Reformation was, in the first instance, a return to the text of Scripture, as distinguished from arbitrary interpretations of that text. There was no thought of questioning the claim of the Bible to be accepted as a Revelation. Bacon accepted the creed of Christianity as we accept so many of the commonplaces of the society in which we live. But it was no vital part of his spiritual self, in the sense in which his scientific convictions and interests were. As a statesman, he wished to obtain acceptance for a practical principle of compromise, which should

unite all Englishmen upon essential matters of belief. He was anxious, too, in the interests of science, to persuade theologians that their jealousy of science was unreasonable. Hence he argued that theology and science cannot possibly come into competition. If theologians deprecated a criticism of the Book of God's Word, on what principle could they claim the right to doubt the Book of His Works? Nature is, like the Bible, a book written by God for our instruction. But the two books have different objects, and are to be studied by different methods. The object of the Bible is not to teach science. Any attempts, therefore, to elicit the truths of nature from the Bible must result in false science, and any attempt to limit the inquiries of science in the interest of religion is essentially irrational. Conversely, any attempt to find in nature what can only be found in the Scriptures must end in heresy. The object, the method, and the evidence of science and theology are entirely distinct. But though Bacon was thus indifferent with regard to dogma, yet it is impossible to read his writings without seeing how sincere his religion was, and how profoundly he was influenced by it. He believed nothing for which warrant is not to be found in Scripture, at the same time we are not surprised to find that he supports his beliefs by the evidence of observation and reflection. There is a double advantage in this procedure. It not only gives certainty and precision to the beliefs themselves, but it also affords proof of the divine origin of Christianity. Every fresh analogy between Scripture and the work of God's hands was to him a fresh proof that Scripture, too, comes from God. A careful and thorough study of nature,

Bacon says, proves the existence of a God who created, and who continues to regulate the physical universe. The moral world is equally the object of His supervision and guidance, as is proved by "the notable examples of His judgments, chastisements, deliverances, and blessings," which history forces upon our observation. Lastly, in the life of each individual man we may trace "His fatherly compassion, His comfortable chastisements, His visible Providence." Thus Bacon found in religion both a stimulus and a consolation. So far as he was true to himself, he worked constantly with the sense of divine guidance and support. He worked in the spirit of an apostle commissioned to reveal to man the glory and the mercies of God. For mercy is the distinguishing characteristic of God. "In the first platform of the divine nature itself the heathen religion speaketh thus, *Best and Greatest*, and the sacred Scriptures thus, *His mercy is over all His works*." Nature and revelation alike teach us that the first duty of man is "to aspire to a similitude of God in goodness or love." Practical morality, indeed, may be summed up in the one rule of charity. For charity is "excellently called the bond of perfection, because it comprehendeth and fasteneth all virtues together." Its insistence upon the virtue of charity, and its correspondence in this respect with the teachings of nature are among the proofs of the divine origin of Christianity. The moral teaching of Christianity in this respect naturally exercised a profound influence on a man of Bacon's character and aims. He had by nature an even temper and a kindly and humane disposition. "The state and bread of the poor and oppressed," he says, "have been precious in mine eyes, I have hated all

cruelty and hardness of heart I have (though in a despised weed) procured the good of all men. If any have been mine enemies I thought not of them, neither hath the sun almost set upon my displeasure, but I have been as a dove, free from superfluity of maliciousness.' To this we must add his strong conviction that human misery might be indefinitely relieved by scientific discovery. We need not wonder that he was attracted by a religion which exalted a life of active charity. By its condemnation of a life of selfish isolation, Christianity gave the death-blow to the doctrines of half the schools. "Men must know that in this theatre of man's life it is reserved only for God and angels to be lookers on." Bacon was no philosopher. Indeed, the questions of philosophy, if they had presented themselves to his mind, would probably have been dismissed by him as "barren." We are not therefore to look for any systematic treatment of the problem of conduct in his writings. He would have said, and truly, that moral failure springs more often from the want of will to do what is right, than from ignorance of what right is. There are some principles of conduct which are self-evident, and which constitute what he calls "the law of nature." Further, we have the positive commands of Scripture. The faculty of reason, too, has been given to us to enable us to develop and apply these. Lastly, there survive in man, as relics of the purity of his first estate, certain imperfect intuitions, insufficient indeed to inform him fully of his duty, but at the same time sufficient to tell him that certain actions are wrong. When dealing with the subject of conduct, Bacon lays the chief stress upon the necessity of a good moral training, or, as he calls it,

"the Georgics of the mind." It is a science of conduct like all other sciences, and must be founded upon experience. Like all other sciences, it must be founded upon experience. Moral diseases must be treated as diseases of the body are. We require, first, an enumeration of the normal types of character. Special attention should be paid to such differences as involve a large number of subordinate differences. In the next place, just as the physician ascertains by anatomy the possible modifications of the normal bodily structure, so we must ascertain the varieties of disposition and temperament due to the accidents of sex, climate, and circumstances. Lastly, as the physician studies diseases and their cures, so we require a complete analysis of the passions, which are, as it were, the diseases of the mind, and a consideration of the influences of habit, praise, reproof, reading, and all the other causes for moral diseases. This is the course which must be adopted, unless we mean "to follow the indiscretion of empirics, which minister the same medicine to all patients." There is a close analogy between the methods and the objects of moral discipline and of medicine. "For as we divided the good of the body into health, beauty, strength, and pleasure, so the good of the mind, inquired in rational and moral knowledges, tendeth to this, to make the mind sound and without perturbation, beautiful and graced with decency, and strong and agile for all duties of life."

Bacon's writings have always been widely read and admired. There is the stamp of greatness upon them. We are not to look to him for any particular discoveries. His acquaintance even with the results of scientific inquiry in his own time was imperfect. In

some cases he rejected the truth, and clung to old-fashioned but erroneous beliefs. The method which he invented is not the method by which science has achieved her conquests. Indeed, it is from the nature of things impossible that the Logician should anticipate the method of science. He can only formulate it by a study of results. The influence exercised by Bacon has been such as we should expect from a thinker surveying the whole field of knowledge. Inquirers were naturally gratified by the dignity which he gave to their labours, and encouraged by the prospects which he held out. He gave to science a human interest. He gave it high hopes and a definite aim. For ourselves his writings have a great historical interest. The *Advancement of Learning* and the *Novum Organum* help to bridge the gulf which separates us from the era of Scholasticism. And, speaking generally, the world profits by an occasional survey and criticism of its intellectual achievements and efforts. Part of Bacon's influence is of course due to the charm of his style. His sentences are often loosely constructed, but they are generally clear and intelligible. He is always interesting, because his own interest in his subject never flags. Enthusiasm stimulates his eloquence. His luxuriant imagination enlivens every page. He is perhaps unrivalled in the combination of picturesqueness with weight. This is well illustrated in the *Essays*. We are alternately charmed by the play of fancy, and arrested by a sentence into which the experience of a lifetime is compressed. No language is too homely, no example too simple, which will serve to drive home a truth. The maxims of Bacon have become the commonplaces of science. Yet his expression of them can never lose its

charm and force. To the mass of men their positive value is as great as it ever was. Scientific hypotheses are now taken up discussed, and adopted, without any adequate comprehension of the , or any appreciation of the evidence for and against them. In the sphere of political and social discussion especially, there is need of that patient and conscientious study and reflection advocated by Socrates in the old world, and by Bacon in the new. The history of Bacon's fall will always serve to point a moral, yet it is true that he is one of our great masters in the art of life. He has shown men how full of interest life and the world are to every healthy mind. He has directed them to high aims and worthy interests as the true source of real and abiding satisfaction, and has encouraged them by the assurance that *virtue is justified by her children*.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY

To the Right Honourable my very good Lord the DUKE OF
BUCKINGHAM his Grace, Lord High Admiral of England

EXCELLENT LORD,

SALOMON says, *A good name is as a precious ointment*, and I assure myself such will your Grace's name be with posterity For your fortune and merit both have been eminent And you have planted things that are like to last I do now publish my Essays, which, of all my other works, have been most current, for that, as it seems, they come home to men's business and bosoms I have enlarged them both in number and weight, so that they are indeed a new work I thought it therefore agreeable to my affection and obligation to your Grace, to prefix your name before them, both in English and Latin For I do conceive that the Latin volume of them (being in the universal language) may last as long as books last My *Instauration* I dedicated to the King, my *History of Henry the Seventh* (which I have now also translated into Latin) and my portions of *Natural History* to the Prince, and these I dedicate to your Grace, being of the best fruits that by the good increase which God gives to my pen and labours I could yield God lead your grace by the hand

Your Grace's most obliged and faithful servant,

FR ST ALBAN

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ESSAYS OR COUNSELS

CIVIL AND MORAL

I OF TRUTH

What is Truth? said jesting Pilate, and would not stay for an answer. Certainly there be that delight in giddiness, and count it a bondage to fix a belief, affecting free-will in thinking, as well as in acting. And though the sects of philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing wits which are of the same veins, though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients. But it is not only the difficulty and labour which men take in finding out of truth, nor again that when it is found it imposeth upon men's thoughts, that doth bring lies in 10 favour, but a natural though corrupt love of the lie itself. One of the later school of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand to think what should be in it, that men should love lies, where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets, nor for advantage, as with the merchant, but for the lie's sake. But I cannot tell this same truth is a naked and open day-light, that doth not shew the masks and mummeries and triumphs of the world, half so stately and daintily as candle-lights. Truth may perhaps come to the price of a pearl, that sheweth best by day, but it will not 20 rise to the price of a diamond or carbuncle, that sheweth

To pass from theological and philosophical truth, to the truth of civil business, it will be acknowledged even by those that practise it not, that clear and round dealing is the honour of man's nature, and that mixture of falsehood is like alloy in corn of gold and silver, which may make the metal work the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding and crooked courses are the goings of the serpent, which goeth basely upon the belly, and not upon the feet. There is no vice that doth so cover a man with shame as to be found false and perfidious. And therefore Montaigne saith prettily, when he inquired the reason, why the word of the lie should be such a disgrace and such an odious charge? saith he, *If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth, is as much as to say, that he is brave towards God and a coward towards men.* For a lie faces God, and shrinks from man. Surely the wickedness of falsehood and breach of faith cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last peal to call the judgments of God upon the generations of men, it being foretold, that when Christ cometh, *he shall not find faith upon the earth*

II OF DEATH

MEN fear death, as children fear to go in the dark, and as that natural fear in children is increased with tales, so is the other. Certainly, the contemplation of death, as the wages of sin and passage to another world, is holy and religious, but the fear of it, as a tribute due unto nature, is weak. Yet in religious meditations there is sometimes mixture of vanity and of superstition. You shall read in some of the friars' books of mortification, that a man should think with himself what the pain is if he have but his finger's end pressed or tortured, and thereby imagine what the pains of death are, when the whole body is corrupted and dissolved, when many times death passes with less pain than the tor-

ture of a limb for the most vital parts are not the quickest of sense And by him that spake only as a philosopher and natural man, it was well said, *Pompa mortis magis terret quam mors ipsa* [*The accompaniments of death frighten more than death itself*] Groans and convulsions, and a discoloured face, and friends weeping, and blacks, and obseques, and the like, shew death terrible It is worthy the observing, that there
20 is no passion in the mind of man so weak, but it mates and masters the fear of death, and therefore death is no such terrible enemy when a man hath so many attendants about him that can win the combat of him Revenge triumphs over death, Love slights it, Honour aspireth to it, Grief flieth to it, Fear pre-occupateth it, nay we read, after Otho the Emperor had slain himself, Pity (which is the tenderest of affections) provoked many to die, out of mere compassion to their sovereign, and as the truest sort of followers Nay Seneca adds niceness and satiety *Cogita quamdiu eadem*
30 *feceris, mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, sed etiam fastidiosus potest* A man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a weariness to do the same thing so oft over and over It is no less worthy to observe, how little alteration in good spirits the approaches of death make, for they appear to be the same men till the last instant Augustus Cæsar died in a compliment, *Livia, conjugii nostri memor, vive et vale* [*Farewell, Livia, as long as you live forget not the days of our married life*] Tiberius in dissimulation, as Tacitus saith of him, *Jam Tiberium vires*
40 *et corpus, non dissimulatio, deserebant* [*his bodily strength was deserting Tiberius, but his dissimulation remained*] Vespasian in a jest, sitting upon the stool, *Ut puto Deus fio* [*I think I am becoming a God*] Galba with a sentence *Peri, si ex re sit populi Romani* [*Strike, if it be for the good of the Roman people,*] holding forth his neck Septimius Severus in dispatch, *Adeste si quid mihi restat agendum* [*Come quickly, if there remains anything for me to do*] And the like Certainly the Stoics bestowed too much cost upon death, and by

their great preparations made it appear more fearful Better saith he, *qui finem vitæ extremum inter munera ponat Natura* 51 [who accounts the end of life as one of the boons of nature] It is as natural to die as to be born, and to a little infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other He that dies in an earnest pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot blood, who, for the time, scarce feels the hurt, and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good doth avert the dolours of death But above all, believe it, the sweetest canticle is, *Nunc dimittis*, [now lettest thou thy servant depart] when a man hath obtained worthy ends and expectations Death has this also, that it openeth the gate to good fame, 60 and extinguisheth envy *Extinctus amabitur idem* [He who was envied when alive, will be loved when dead]

III OF UNITY IN RELIGION

RELIGION being the chief band of human society, it is a happy thing when itself is well contained within the true band of unity The quarrels and divisions about religion were evils unknown to the heathen The reason was, because the religion of the heathen consisted rather in rites and ceremonies, than in any constant belief For you may imagine what kind of faith theirs was, when the chief doctors and fathers of their church were the poets But the true God hath this attribute, that he is a *jealous God*, and therefore his worship and religion will endure no mixture nor partner. 10 We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the Unity of the Church, what are the Fruits thereof, what the Bounds; and what the Means

The Fruits of Unity (next unto the well pleasing of God, which is all in all) are two; the one towards those that are without the church, the other towards those that are within For the former, it is certain that heresies and schisms are of all others the greatest scandals yet more than corruption

of manners For as in the natural body a wound or solution
 20 of continuity is worse than a corrupt humour, so in the
 spiritual So that nothing doth so much keep men out of
 the church, and drive men out of the church, as breach of
 unity And therefore, whensoever it cometh to that pass,
 that one saith *Ecce in deserto*, [*Behold, he is in the desert,*]
 another saith *Ecce in penetralibus*, [*Behold, he is in the secret*
chamber,] that is, when some men seek Christ in the con-
 venticles of heretics, and others in an outward face of a
 church, that voice had need continually to sound in men's
 ears, *Nolite exire*,—*Go not out* The Doctor of the Gentiles (the
 30 propriety of whose vocation drew him to have a special care
 of those without) saith, *If an heathen come in, and hear you*
speak with several tongues, will he not say that you are mad?
 And certainly it is little better, when atheists and profane
 persons do hear of so many discordant and contrary opinions
 in religion, it doth avert them from the church, and maketh
 them *to sit down in the chair of the scorers* It is but a
 light thing to be vouched in so serious a matter, but yet it
 expresseth well the deformity There is a master of scoffing,
 that in his catalogue of books of a feigned library sets down
 40 this title of a book, *The morris dance of Heretics* For indeed
 every sect of them hath a diverse posture or cringe by them-
 selves, which cannot but move derision in worldlings and
 depraved politics, who are apt to condemn holy things.

As for the fruit towards those that are within, it is peace,
which containeth infinite blessings It establisheth faith
 It kindleth charity The outward peace of the church
 distilleth into peace of conscience And it turneth the
 labours of writing and reading of controversies into treatises
 of mortification and devotion.

50 Concerning the Bounds of Unity, the true placing of
 them importeth exceedingly There appear to be two
 extremes For to certain relents all speech of pacification
 is odious Is it peace, *Jehu?* What hast thou to do with
peace? turn thee behind me Peace is not the matter, but

following and party. Contrariwise, certain Laodiceans and lukewarm persons think they may accommodate points of religion by middle ways, and taking part of both, and witty reconclements, as if they would make an arbitrement between God and man. Both these extremes are to be avoided; which will be done, if the league of Christians 60 penned by our Saviour Himself were in the two cross clauses thereof soundly and plainly expounded. He that is not with us is against us; and again, He that is not against us is with us; that is, if the points fundamental, and of substance in religion, were truly discerned and distinguished from points not merely of faith, but of opinion, order, or good intention. This is a thing may seem to many a matter trivial, and done already. But if it were done, less partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this advice, according to my small 70 model. Men ought to take heed of rending God's church by two kinds of controversies. The one is, when the matter of the point controverted is too small and light, not worth the heat and strife about it, kindled only by contradiction. For as it is noted by one of the fathers, *Christ's coat indeed had no seam, but the church's texture was of divers colours*, whereupon he saith, *In recte varietas sit, scissura non sit*, [let there be variety, but no division in the garment] they be two things, Unity and Uniformity. The other is, when the matter of the point controverted is great, but it is driven 80 to an over-great subtilty and obscurity, so that it becometh a thing rather ingenious than substantial. A man that is of judgment and understanding shall sometimes hear ignorant men differ, and know well within himself that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree. And if it come so to pass in that distance of judgment which is between man and man, shall we not think that God above, that knows the heart, doth not discern that frail men in some of their contradictions intend the same thing, and accepteth of both? The nature of such 90

controversies is excellently expressed by St Paul in the warning and precept that he giveth concerning the same, *Devita profundas vocum novitates, et oppositiones falsi nominis scientia* [*Avoid profane novelties of terms, and oppositions of science falsely so called*] Men create oppositions which are not, and put them into new terms so fixed, as whereas the meaning ought to govern the term, the term in effect governeth the meaning. There be also two false peaces or unities: the one when the peace is grounded but upon an
 100 implicit ignorance, for all colours will agree in the dark: the other, when it is pieced upon a direct admission of contraries in fundamental points. For truth and falsehood, in such things, are like the iron and clay in the toes of Nebuchadnezzar's image, they may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the Means of procuring Unity, men must beware, that in the procuring or muniting of religious unity, they do not dissolve and deface the laws of charity and of human society. There be two swords amongst Christians,
 110 the spiritual and temporal, and both have their due office and place in the maintenance of religion. But we may not take up the third sword, which is Mahomet's sword, or like unto it, that is, to propagate religion by wars or by sanguinary persecutions to force consciences, except it be in cases of overt scandal, blasphemy, or intermixture of practice against the state, much less to nourish seditions, to authorise conspiracies and rebellions, to put the sword into the people's hands, and the like, tending to the subversion of all government, which is the ordinance of God. For this is but to dash
 120 the first trile against the second, and so to consider men as Christians, as we forget that they are men. Lucietius the poet, when he beheld the act of Agamemnon, that could endure the sacrificing of his own daughter, exclaimed

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum

[*So great the evils to which religion could prompt*] What would he have said, if he had known of the massacre in

France, or the powder treason of England? He would have been seven times more Epicure and atheist than he was. For as the temporal sword is to be drawn with great circumspection in cases of religion, so it is a thing monstrous 130 to put it into the hands of the common people. Let that be left unto the Anabaptists, and other furies. It was great blasphemy when the devil said, *I will ascend and be like the Highest*, but it is greater blasphemy to personate God, and bring him in saying, *I will descend and be like the prince of darkness* and what is it better, to make the cause of religion to descend to the cruel and execrable actions of murdering princes, butchery of people, and subversion of states and governments? Surely this is to bring down the Holy Ghost, instead of the likeness of a dove, in the shape of a vulture or 140 raven, and set out of the bark of a Christian church a flag of a bark of pirates and Assassins. Therefore it is most necessary that the church by doctrine and decree, princes by their sword, and all learnings, both Christian and moral, as by their Mercury rod, do damn and send to hell for ever those facts and opinions tending to the support of the same, as hath been already in good part done. Such in counsels concerning religion, that counsel of the apostle would be prefixed, *Ira hominis non implet iustitiam Dei* [*The wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God*] And it was a 150 notable observation of a wise father, and no less ingenuously confessed, *that those which held and perswaded pressure of consciences, were commonly interessed therein themselves for their own ends*

IV OF REVENGE

REVENGE is a kind of wild justice, which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out. For as for the first wrong, it doth but offend the law, but the revenge of that wrong putteth the law out of office. Certainly, in taking revenge, a man is but even with his enemy,

but in passing it over, he is superior, for it is a prince's part to pardon. And Salomon, I am sure, saith, *It is the glory of a man to pass by an offence*. That which is past is gone, and irrevocable, and wise men have enough to do with things present and to come, therefore they do but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters. There is no man doth a wrong for the wrong's sake, but thereby to purchase himself profit, or pleasure, or honour, or the like. Therefore why should I be angry with a man for loving himself better than me? And if any man should do wrong merely out of ill-nature, why, yet it is but like the thorn or briar, which prick and scratch, because they can do no other. The most tolerable sort of revenge is for those wrongs which there is no law to remedy, but then let a man take heed the revenge be such as there is no law to punish, else a man's enemy is still beforehand, and it is two for one. Some, when they take revenge, are desirous the party should know whence it cometh. This is the more generous. For the delight seemeth to be not so much in doing the hurt as in making the party repent. But base and crafty cowards are like the mouse that flieth in the dark. COSMUS, duke of Florence, had a desperate saying against perfidious or neglecting friends, as if those wrongs were unpardonable, *You shall read (saith he) that we are commanded to forgive our enemies, but you never read that we are commanded to forgive our friends*. But yet the spirit of Job was in a better tune. *Shall we (saith he) take good at God's hands, and not be content to take evil also?* And so of friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a man that studieth revenge keeps his own wounds green, which otherwise would heal and do well. Public revenges are for the most part fortunate, as that for the death of Caesar, for the death of Pertinax, for the death of Henry the Third of France, and many more. But in private revenges it is not so. Nay rather, vindictive persons live the life of witches, who, as they are mischievous, so end they unfortunate.

V OF ADVERSITY.

IT was a high speech of Seneca (after the manner of the Stoics), that the good things which belong to prosperity are to be wished; but the good things that belong to adversity are to be advised. *Bona rerum secundarum opabilia, adversarum necessaria*. Certainly if miracles be the command over nature, they appear most in adversity. It is yet a higher speech of his than the other (much too high for a heathen), *It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of a man, and the security of a God. Vere magnum, habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei*. This would have done better 10 in poet, where transcendences are more allowed. And the poets indeed have been busy with it, for it is in effect the thing which is figured in that strange fiction of the ancient poets, which seemeth not to be without mystery, nay, and to have some approach to the state of a Christian, that *Heracles, when he went to unbind Prometheus* (by whom human nature is represented), *sailed the length of the great ocean in an earthen pot or pitcher*, lively describing Christian resolution, that saileth in the frail birk of the flesh thorough the waves of the world. But to speak in a mean. The virtue of 20 Prosperity is temperance, the virtue of Adversity is fortitude, which in morals is the more heroical virtue. Prosperity is the blessing of the Old Testament, Adversity is the blessing of the New, which carrieth the greater benediction, and the clearer revelation of God's favour. Yet even in the Old Testament, if you listen to David's harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like airs as carols, and the pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more in describing the afflictions of Job than the felicities of Solomon. Prosperity is not without many fears and distastes, and Adversity is not without 30 comforts and hopes. We see in needleworks and embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively work upon a sad and solemn ground, than to have a dark and melancholy

work upon a lightsome ground judge therefore of the pleasure of the heart by the pleasure of the eye Certainly virtue is like precious odours, most fragrant when they are incensed or crushed for Prosperity doth best discover vice, but Adversity doth best discover virtue

... covered with of the

VI OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION

... the ...

DISSIMULATION is but a faint kind of policy or wisdom, for it asketh a strong wit and a strong heart to know when to tell truth, and to do it Therefore it is the weaker sort of politics that are the great dissemblers *... the ...*

Tacitus saith, *Livia sorted well with the arts of her husband, and dissimulation of her son*, attributing arts or policy to Augustus, and dissimulation to Tiberius And again, when Mucrinus encourageth Vespasian to take arms against Vitellius, he saith, *He rise not against the piercing judgment of Augustus, nor the extreme caution or closeness of Tiberius* These properties, of arts or policy and dissimulation or closeness, are indeed habits and faculties several, and to be distinguished For if a man have that penetration of judgment as he can discern what things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be shewed at half lights, and to whom and when, (which indeed are arts of state and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them,) to him a habit of dissimulation is a hinderance and a poorness But if a man cannot obtain to that judgment, then it is left to him generally to be close, and a dissembler For where a man cannot choose or vary in particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest way in general, like the going softly, by one that cannot well see Certainly the ablest men that ever were have had all an openness and frankness of dealing, and a name of certainty and veracity, but then they were like horses well managed, for they could tell passing well when to stop or turn, and at such times when they thought the

case indeed required dissimulation, if then they used it, it came to pass that the former opinion spread abroad of their good faith and clearness of dealing made them almost invisible

There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self The first, Closeness, Reservation, and Secrecy, when a man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken, what he is The second, Dissimulation, in the negative, when a man lets fall signs and arguments, that he is not that he is And the third, Simulation, in the affirmative, when a man inauspiciously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not

For the first of these, Secrecy, it is indeed the virtue of a confessor And assuredly the secret man heareth many confessions For who will open himself to a blab or babbler? But if a man be thought secret, it inviteth discovery, as the more close air sucketh in the more open, and as in confession the revealing is not for worldly use, but for the ease of a man's heart, so secret men come to the knowledge of many things in that kind, while men rather discharge their minds than impart their minds In few words, mysteries are due to secrecy Besides (to say truth) nakedness is uncomely, as well in mind as body, and it addeth no small reverence to men's manners and actions, if they be not altogether open As for talkers, and futile persons, they are commonly vain and credulous withal For he that talketh what he knoweth, will also talk what he knoweth not Therefore set it down, *that an habit of secrecy is both politic and moral* And in this part, it is good that a man's face give his tongue leave to speak For the discovery of a man's self by the traicts of his countenance is a great weakness and betraying, by how much it is many times more marked and believed than a man's words.

For the second, which is Dissimulation, it followeth many times upon secrecy by a necessity, so that he that will be secret must be a dissembler in some degree. For men are

too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be secret, without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beat a man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that, without an absurd silence, he must shew an inclination one way, or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations, or oraculous speeches they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be secret, except he give himself a little scope of dissimulation, which is, as it were, but the skirts or train of secrecy.

But for the third degree, which is simulation and false profession, that I hold more culpable, and less politic, except it be in great and rare matters. And therefore a general custom of simulation (which is this last degree) is a vice, arising either of a natural falseness or fearfulness, or of a mind that hath some main faults, which because a man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise simulation in other things, lest his hand should be out of ure.

The great advantages of simulation and dissimulation are three. First, to lay asleep opposition, and to surprise. For where a man's intentions are published, it is an alarm to call up all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a man's self a fair retreat. For if a man engage himself by a manifest declaration, he must go through or take a fall. The third is, the better to discover the mind of another. For to him that opens himself men will hardly show themselves adverse, but will (fair) let him go on, and turn their freedom of speech to freedom of thought. And therefore it is a good shrewd proverb of the Spaniard, *Tell a lie and find a truth.* As if there were no way of discovery but by simulation. There be also three disadvantages, to set it even. The first, that simulation and dissimulation commonly carry with them a shew of fearfulness, which in any business doth spoil the feathers of round flying up to the mark. The second, that it puzzeth and perplexeth the conceits of many, that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him, and

makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends. The third 10
and greatest, is, that it depriveth a man of one of the most
principal instruments for action, which is trust and belief
The best composition and temperature is to have openness in
fame and opinion, secrecy in habit, dissimulation in season-
able use; and a power to feign if there be no remedy.

VII. OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN

THE joys of parents are secret, and so are their griefs and
fears. They cannot utter the one, nor they will not utter
the other. Children sweeten labours, but they make mis-
fortunes more bitter. They increase the cares of life, but
they mitigate the remembrance of death. The perpetuity
by generation is common to beasts, but memory, merit, and
noble works, are proper to men. And surely a man shall
see the noblest works and foundations have proceeded from
childless men, which have sought to express the images of
their minds, where those of their bodies have failed. So the 10
care of posterity is most in them that have no posterity.
They that are the first raisers of their houses are most
indulgent towards their children, beholding them as the
continuance not only of their kind but of their work, and
as both children and creatures.

The difference in affection of parents towards their several
children is many times unequal, and sometimes unworthy,
especially in the mother, as Solomon saith *A wife re-
joiceth the father, but an ungracious son sheweth the mother*
A man shall see, where there is a house full of children, one 20
or two of the eldest respected, and the youngest neg-
lected, but in the midst some that are as if were for-
gotten, who many times nevertheless prove the best. The
illiberality of parents in allowance towards their children
is an horrible error: makes them base companions, and makes

them surfeit more when they come to plenty And therefore the proof is best, when men keep their authority towards their children, but not their purse Men have a
 30 foolish manner (both parents and schoolmasters and servants) in erecting and breeding an emulation between brothers during childhood, which many times sorteth to discord when they are men, and disturbeth families The Italians make little difference between children and nephews or near kinsfolk, but so they be of the lump, they care not though they pass not through their own body And, to say truth, in nature it is much a like matter, inasmuch that we see a nephew sometimes resembleth an uncle or a kinsman more
 40 than his own parent, as the blood happens Let parents choose betimes the vocations and courses they mean their children should take, for then they are most flexible, and let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their children, as thinking they will take best to that which they have most mind to It is true, that if the affection or aptness of the children be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it, but generally the precept is good, *Optimum elige, facile et facile illud faciet consuetudo* [Choose what is best, custom will make it agreeable and easy] Younger brothers are commonly fortunate, but seldom or never where the
 50 elder are disinherited

VIII OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE

He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune, for they are impediments to great enterprises, either of virtue or mischief Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the public, have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men, which both in affection and means have married and endowed the public Yet it were great reason that those that have children should have greatest care of future times, unto which they know they

must transmit their dearest pledges. Some there are, who though they lead a single life, yet their thoughts do end 10 with themselves, and account future times impertinences. Nay, there are some other that account wife and children but as bills of charges. Nay more, there are some foolish rich covetous men, that take a pride in having no children, because they may be thought so much the richer. For perhaps they have heard some talk, *Such an one is a great rich man, and another except to it, Yea, but he hath a great charge of children*, as if it were an abatement to his riches. But the most ordinary cause of a single life is liberty, especially in certain self-pleasing and humorous minds, which are 20 so sensible of every restraint, as they will go near to think their girdles and garters to be bonds and shackles. Unmarried men are best friends, best masters, best servants, but not always best subjects, for they are light to run away, and almost all fugitives are of that condition. A single life doth well with churchmen, for charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool. It is indifferent for judges and magistrates for if they be facile and corrupt, you shall have a servant five times worse than a wife. For soldiers, I find the generals commonly in 30 their hortatives put men in mind of their wives and children, and I think the despising of marriage amongst the Turks maketh the vulgar soldier more base. Certainly wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity, and single men, though they may be many times more charitable, because their means are less exhausted, yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hardhearted (good to make severe inquisitors,) because their tenderness is not so oft called upon. Grave natures led by custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving husbands, as was said of Ulysses, 40 *utulam suam protulit immortalitati* [he preferred his old wife to immortality]. Chaste women are often proud and stouard, as presuming upon the merit of their chastity. It is one of the best bonds both of chastity and obedience in

the wife, if she think her husband will, which she will never do if she find him otherwise. Wives are young men's mistresses, companions for middle age, and old men's nurses. So is a man may have a quarrel to marry when he will. But yet he was reputed one of the wise men, that gave answer to the question, when a man should marry?—
A young man not yet, an elder man not at all. It is often seen that bad husbands have very good wives, whether it be that it riseth the price of their husband's kindness when it comes, or that the wives take a pride in their patience. But this never fails, if the bad husbands were of their own choosing, against their friends' consent, for then they will be sure to make good their own folly.

IX. OF ENVY

THERE be none of the afflictions which have been noted to fascinate or bewitch, but love and envy. They both have vehement wishes, they frame themselves readily into imaginations and suggestions, and they come easily into the eye, especially upon the presence of the objects, which are the points that conduce to fascination, if any such thing there be. We see likewise the scripture calleth envy an *evil eye*, and the astrologers call the evil influences of the stars *evil aspects*, so that still there seemeth to be acknowledged, in
 10 the act of envy, an ejaculation or irradiation of the eye. Nay some have been so curious as to note, that the times when the stroke or percussion of an envious eye doth most hurt, are when the party envied is beheld in glory or triumph, for that sets an edge upon envy. and besides, at such times the spirits of the person envied do come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the blow.

But leaving these curiosities, (though not unworthy to be thought on in fit place,) we will handle, *what persons are apt to envy others, what persons are most subject to be envied them-*

selves, and what is the difference between public and private 20
envy

A man that hath no virtue in himself, ever envieth virtue in others For men's minds will either feed upon their own good, or upon others' evil, and who wanteth the one will prey upon the other, and whoso is out of hope to attain to another's virtue, will seek to come at even hand by depressing another's fortune

A man that is busy and inquisitive is commonly envious For to know much of other men's matters cannot be because all that ado may concern his own estate, therefore it 30 must needs be that he taketh a kind of play-pleasure in looking upon the fortunes of others Neither can he that mindeth but his own business find much matter for envy For envy is a gadding passion, and walketh the streets, and doth not keep home *Non est curiosus, quin idem sit malevolus* [All inquisitive persons are malevolent]

Men of noble birth are noted to be envious towards new men when they rise For the distance is altered, and it is like a deceit of the eye, that when others come on they think themselves go back 40

Deformed persons, and eunuchs, and old men, and bastards, are envious For he that cannot possibly mend his own case, will do what he can to impair another's except these defects light upon a very brave and heroical nature, which thinketh to make his natural wants part of his honour, in that it should be said, that an eunuch, or a lame man, did such great matters, affecting the honour of a miracle, as it was in Narses the eunuch, and Agesilaus and Tamberlanes, that were lame men

The same is the case of men that rise after calamities and 50 misfortunes For they are as men fallen out with the times, and think other men's harms a redemption of their own sufferings

They that desire to excel in too many matters, out of levity and vain glory, are ever envious For they cannot

want work, it being impossible but many in some one of those things should surpass them. Which was the character of Adrian the Emperor, that mortally envied poets and painters and artificers, in works wherein he had a vein to
60 excel

Lastly, near kinsfolks, and fellows in office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to envy their equals when they are raised. For it doth upbraid unto them their own fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their remembrance, and incurreth likewise more into the note of others, and envy ever redoubleth from speech and fame. Cain's envy was the more vile and malignant towards his brother Abel, because when his sacrifice was better accepted there was nobody to look on. Thus much for those
70 that are apt to envy

Concerning those that are more or less subject to envy. First, persons of eminent virtue, when they are advanced, are less envied. For their fortune seemeth but due unto them, and no man envieth the payment of a debt, but rewards and liberality rather. Again, envy is ever joined with the comparing of a man's self, and where there is no comparison, no envy, and therefore kings are not envied but by kings. Nevertheless it is to be noted that unworthy persons are most envied at their first coming in, and afterwards
80 overcome it better, whereas contrariwise, persons of worth and merit are most envied when their fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same lustre, for fresh men grow up that darken it.

Persons of noble blood are less envied in their rising. For it seemeth but right done to their birth. Besides, there seemeth not much added to their fortune, and envy is as the sunbeams, that beat hotter upon a bank or steep rising ground, than upon a flat. And for the same reason those
90 that are advanced by degrees are less envied than those that are advanced suddenly, and *per saltum*.

Those that have joined with their honour great travels, cares, or perils, are less subject to envy. For men think that they earn their honours hardly, and pity them sometimes, and pity ever healeth envy. Wherefore you shall observe that the more deep and sober sort of politic persons, in their greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves, what a life they lead, chanting a *quanta patimur*! [*How much we suffer*!]

Not that they feel it so, but only to abate the edge of envy. But this is to be understood of business that is laid upon men, and not such as they call unto themselves. For nothing increaseth envy more than an unnecessary and ambitious engrossing of business. And nothing doth extinguish envy more than for a great person to preserve all other inferior officers in their full rights and pre-eminences of their places. For by that means there be so many screens between him and envy.

Above all, those are most subject to envy, which carry the greatness of their fortunes in an insolent and proud manner, being never well but while they are shewing how great they are, either by outward pomp, or by triumphing over all opposition or competition, whereas wise men will rather do sacrifice to envy, in suffering themselves sometimes of purpose to be crossed and overborne in things that do not much concern them. Notwithstanding so much is true, that the carriage of greatness in a plain and open manner (so it be without arrogancy and vain glory) doth draw less envy than if it be in a more crafty and cunning fashion. For in that course a man doth but disavow fortune, and seemeth to be conscious of his own want in worth, and doth but teach others to envy him.

Lastly, to conclude this part, as we said in the beginning that the act of envy had somewhat in it of witchcraft, so there is no other cure of envy but the cure of witchcraft, and that is, to remove the *lot* (as they call it) and to lay it upon another. For which purpose, the wiser sort of great persons bring in ever upon the stage somebody upon whom to derive the envy that would come upon themselves, some-

times upon ministers and servants sometimes upon colleagues and associates, and the like, and for that turn there
 130 are never wanting some persons of violent and undertaking natures, who, so they may have power and business, will take it at any cost

Now, to speak of public envy There is yet some good in public envy, whereas in private there is none For public envy is as an ostracism, that eclipseth men when they grow too great And therefore it is a bridle also to great ones, to keep them within bounds

This envy, being in the Latin word *invidia*, goeth in the modern languages by the name of *discontentment*, of which
 140 we shall speak in handling Sedition It is a disease in a state like to infection For as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it, so when envy is gotten once into a state, it traduceth even the best actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill odour And therefore there is little won by intermingling of plausible actions For that doth argue but a weakness and fear of envy, which hunteth so much the more, as it is likewise usual in infections, which if you fear them, you call them upon you

This public envy seemeth to beat chiefly upon principal
 150 officers or ministers, rather than upon kings and estates themselves But this is a sure rule, that if the envy upon the minister be great, when the cause of it in him is small or if the envy be general in a manner upon all the ministers of an estate, then the envy (though hidden) is truly upon the state itself And so much of public envy or discontentment, and the difference thereof from private envy, which was handled in the first place

We will add this in general, touching the affection of envy, that of all other affections it is the most importune
 160 and continual For of other affections there is occasion given but now and then, and therefore it was well said, *Invidia festos des non agit* [*Envy takes no holidays*] For it is ever working upon some or other And it is also noted

that love and envy do make a man pine, which other affections do not, because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest affection, and the most depraved, for which cause it is the proper attribute of the devil, who is called *The envious man, that soweth tares amongst the wheat by night*, as it always cometh to pass, that envy worketh subtilly, and in the dark, and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the wheat. 170

X OF LOVE

THE stage is more beholding to Love, than the life of man. For as to the stage, love is ever matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies, but in life it doth much mischief, sometimes like a siren, sometimes like a fury. You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy persons (whereof the memory remaineth, either ancient or recent), there is not one that hath been transported to the mad degree of love which shews that great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion. You must except nevertheless Marcus Antonius, the half partner of the empire 10 of Rome, and Appius Claudius, the decemvir and lawgiver, whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous man, and inordinate, but the latter was an austere and wise man and therefore it seems (though rarely) that love can find entrance not only into an open heart, but also into a heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor saying of Epicurus, *Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus* [*We are a sufficiently large theatre one for another*], as if man, made for the contemplation of heaven and all noble objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little idol, and make 20 himself a subject, though not of the mouth (as beasts are), yet of the eye, which was given him for higher purposes. It is a strange thing to note the excess of this passion, and how it braves the nature and value of things, by this, that

the speaking in a perpetual hyperbole is comely in nothing but in love. Neither is it merely in the phrase, for whereas it hath been well said that the arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty flatterers have intelligence, is a man's self, certainly the lover is more. For there was never proud man
30 thought so absurdly well of himself as the lover doth of the person loved, and therefore it is well said, *That it is impossible to love and to be wise*. Neither doth this weakness appear to others only, and not to the party loved, but to the loved most of all, except the love be reciproque. For it is a true rule, that love is ever rewarded either with the reciproque or with an inward and secret contempt. By how much the more men ought to beware of this passion, which loseth not only other things, but itself. As for the other losses, the poet's relation doth well figure them, That he
40 that preferred Helena, quitted the gifts of Juno and Pallas. For whosoever esteemeth too much of amorous affection quitteth both riches and wisdom. This passion hath his floods in the very times of weakness, which are great prosperity and great adversity, though this latter hath been less observed both which times kindle love, and make it more fervent, and therefore shew it to be the child of folly. They do best, who if they cannot but admit love, yet make it keep quarter, and sever it wholly from their serious affairs and actions of life, for if it check once with business,
50 it troubleth men's fortunes, and maketh men that they can no ways be true to their own ends. I know not how, but martial men are given to love. I think it is but as they are given to wine, for perils commonly ask to be paid in pleasures. There is in man's nature a secret inclination and motion towards love of others, which if it be not spent upon some one or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many, and maketh men become humane and charitable, as it is seen sometime in friars. Nuptial love maketh mankind, friendly love perfecteth it, but wanton love corrupteth and embaseth it.

XI OF GREAT PLACE

Men in great place are thrice servants' servants of the sovereign or state, servants of fame, and servants of business. So as they have no freedom, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times. It is a strange desire, to seek power and to lose liberty or to seek power over others and to lose power over a man's self. The rising unto place is laborious, and by pains men come to greater pains, and it is sometimes base, and by indignities men come to dignities. The standing is slippery, and the regress is either a downfall, or at least an eclipse, which 10 is a melancholy thing. *Cum non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere* [When you are no longer what you have been, there is no reason for wishing to live] Nay, retire men cannot when they would, neither will they when it were reason, but are impatient of privateness, even in age and sickness, which require the shadow, like old townsmen, that will be still sitting at their street door, though thereby they offer age to scorn. Certainly great persons had need to borrow other men's opinions, to think themselves happy, for if they judge by their own feeling, 20 they cannot find it. but if they think with themselves what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy as it were by report, when perhaps they find the contrary within. For they are the first that find their own griefs, though they be the last that find their own faults. Certainly men in great fortunes are strangers to themselves, and while they are in the puzzle of business they have no time to tend their health either of body or mind. *Ille mors gravis incubat, qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi.* [Death falls heavy upon him 30 who dies too well known to others, but unknown to himself] In place there is license to do good and evil, whereof the latter is a curse. for in evil the best condition is not to will, the second not to can. But power to do good is the true and

lawful end of aspiring For good thoughts (though God accept them) yet towards men are little better than good dreams, except they be put in act, and that cannot be without power and place, as the vantage and commanding ground Merit and good works is the end of man's motion, and conscience of the same is the accomplishment of man's rest.

40 For if a man can be partaker of God's theatre, he shall likewise be partaker of God's rest *Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret opera quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quod omnia essent bona nimis* [and God turned to behold the works which his hands had made, and saw that they were all very good,] and then the Sabbath In the discharge of thy place set before thee the best examples, for imitation is a globe of precepts And after a time set before thee thine own example, and examine thyself strictly whether thou didst not best at first Neglect not also the examples of those that have carried

50 themselves ill in the same place, not to set off thyself by taxing their memory, but to direct thyself what to avoid Reform therefore, without bravery or scandal of former times and persons, but yet set it down to thyself as well to create good precedents as to follow them Reduce things to the first institution, and observe wherein and how they have degenerate, but yet ask counsel of both times, of the ancient time, what is best, and of the latter time, what is fittest Seek to make thy course regular, that men may know beforehand what they may expect, but be not too

60 positive and peremptory, and express thyself well when thou digressst from thy rule Preserve the right of thy place, but stir not questions of jurisdiction and rather assume thy right in silence and *de facto*, than voice it with claims and challenges Preserve likewise the rights of inferior places and think it more honour to direct in chief than to be busy in all Embrace and invite helps and advices touching the execution of thy place, and do not drive away such as bring thee information, as meddlers, but accept of them in good part The vices of authority are chiefly

four; delays, corruption, roughness and facility. For de- 70
 lays, give easy access, keep times appointed, go through
 with that which is in hand, and interfere not business but of
 necessity. For corruption, do not only bind thine own
 hands or thy servants' hands from taking, but bind the
 hands of suitors also from offering. For integrity used doth
 the one, but integrity professed, and with a manifest de-
 testation of bribery, doth the other. And would not only
 the fault, but the suspicion. Whosoever is found variable,
 and changeth manifestly without manifest cause, giveth
 suspicion of corruption. Therefore always when thou 80
 changest thine opinion or course, profess it plainly, and
 declare it, together with the reasons that move thee to
 change; and do not think to steal it. A servant or a
 favourite, if he be inward and no other apparent cause of
 esteem, is commonly thought but a by-way to close corrup-
 tion. For roughness, it is a needless cause of discontent.
 severity breedeth fear, but roughness breedeth hate. Even
 reproofs from authority ought to be grave, and not taunting.
 As for facility, it is worse than bribery. For bribes come
 but now and then, but if importunity or idle respects lead 90
 a man, he shall never be without. As Salomon saith, *To*
respect persons is not good, for such a man will transgress for
a piece of bread. It is most true that was anciently spoken,
A place sheweth the man. And it sheweth some to the
 better, and some to the worse. *Omnium consensu capax*
imperii, nisi imperasset, [if he had never been emperor, all
 would have pronounced him fit for empire,] saith Tacitus of
 Galba, but of Vespasian he saith, *Solus imperantium, Ves-*
pasianus mutatus in melius. [Vespasian was the one emperor
 whom the possession of power improved,] though the one was 100
 meant of sufficiency, the other of manners and affection. It
 is an assured sign of a worthy and generous spirit, whom
 honour amends. For honour is, or should be, the place of
 virtue, and as in nature things move violently to their
 place and calmly in their place, so virtue in ambition is

XII OF POLITENESS

It is a trivial gramma- he best but very richly deserves and consideration. Quætion was asked of Demetrius, *what is the chief part of an orator?* he answered, *boldness*—when it did act on what next *grace and art*. He said it that I know it best, and had by nature him. If no advantage in that be commended. A strange thing, that that part of an orator which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a player, should be placed so high, above those other noble parts of invention, diction, and the rest, nay almost alone as if it were all in all. But the reason is plain. There is in human nature generally more of the fool than of the wise—and therefore those faculties by which the foolish part of man's mind is taken are most potent. Wonderful like is the case of Boldness, in civil business, what first? Boldness—what second and third? Boldness. And yet boldness is a child of ignorance and blindness, far inferior to other parts. But nevertheless it doth fascinate and blind hand and foot those that are either shallow in judgment or weak in courage, which are the greatest part, viz and prevaleth with wise men at weak times. Therefore we see it hath done wonders in popular states, but with senators and princes less, and

more ever upon the first entrance of bold persons into action than soon after, for boldness is an ill keeper of promise. Surely as there are mountebanks for the natural body, so are there mountebanks for the politic body; men that undertake great cures, and perhaps have been lucky in two or three experiments, but want the grounds of science, and therefore cannot hold out. Nay you shall see a bold fellow many times do Mahomet's miracle. Mahomet made the people believe that he would call an hill to him, and from 30 the top of it offer up his prayers for the observers of his law. The people assembled, Mahomet called the hill to come to him, again and again, and when the hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said, *If the hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the hill*. So these men, when they have promised great matters and failed most shamefully, yet (if they have the perfection of boldness) they will but slight it over, and make a turn, and no more ado. Certainly to men of great judgment, bold persons are a sport to behold, nay and to the vulgar also, boldness hath somewhat 40 of the ridiculous. For if absurdity be the subject of laughter, doubt you not but great boldness is seldom without some absurdity. Especially it is a sport to see, when a bold fellow is out of countenance, for that puts his face into a most shrunken and wooden posture, as needs it must, for in bashfulness the spirits do a little go and come, but with bold men, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay, like a stale at chess, where it is no mate, but yet the game cannot stir. But this last were fitter for a satire than for a serious observation. This is well to be weighed, that 50 boldness is ever blind, for it seeth not dangers and inconveniences. Therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution, so that the right use of bold persons is, that they never command in chief, but be seconds, and under the direction of others. For in counsel it is good to see dangers, and in execution not to see them, except they be very great.

XIII OF GOODNESS, AND GOODNESS OF NATURE

I TAKE Goodness in this sense, the affecting of the world of men, which is that the Grecians call *Philanthropia*, and the word *humanity* (as it is used) is a little too light to express it. Goodness I call the habit, and Goodness of Nature the inclination. This of all virtues and dignities of the mind is the greatest, being the character of the Deity and without it man is a busy, mischievous, wretched thing, no better than a kind of vermin. Goodness answers to the theological virtue Charity, and admits no excess, but error. The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall, the desire of knowledge in excess caused man to fall but in charity there is no excess, neither can angel or man come in danger by it. The inclination to goodness is imprinted deeply in the nature of man, insomuch that if it issue not towards men, it will take unto other living creatures, as it is seen in the Turks, a cruel people, who nevertheless are kind to beasts, and give alms to dogs and birds, insomuch as Busbechius reporteth, a Christian boy in Constantinople had like to have been stoned for gagging in a waggishness a long-billed fowl.

Errors indeed in this virtue of goodness or charity may be committed. The Italians have an ungracious proverb, *Tanto buon che val niente* So good, that he is good for nothing. And one of the doctors of Italy, Nicholas Machiavel, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plain terms, *That the Christian faith had given up good men in prey to those that are tyrannical and unjust*. Which he spake, because indeed there was never law, or sect, or opinion, did so much magnify goodness, as the Christian religion doth. Therefore, to avoid the scandal and the danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the errors of in habit so excellent. Seek the good of other men, but be not in bondage to their faces or fancies, for that is but facility or softness, which taketh an honest mind prisoner. Neither give thou Æsop's cock a

gem, who would be better pleased and happier if he had a barley-corn. The example of God teacheth the lesson truly ; *He sendeth his rain, and maketh his sun to shine, upon the just and unjust*, but he doth not rain wealth, nor shine honour and virtues upon men equally Common benefits are to be communicate with all ; but peculiar benefits with choice And beware how in making the portraiture thou breakest 40 the pattern For divinity maketh the love of ourselves the pattern, the love of our neighbours but the portraiture *Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor, and follow me.* but sell not all thou hast, except thou come and follow me, that is, except thou have a vocation wherein thou mayest do as much good with little means as with great, for otherwise in feeding the streams thou driest the fountain Neither is there only a habit of goodness, directed by right reason ; but there is in some men, even in nature, a disposition towards it, as on the other side there is a natural malignity 50 For there be that in their nature do not affect the good of others The lighter sort of malignity turneth but to a crossness, or frowardness, or aptness to oppose, or difficulty, or the like, but the deeper sort to envy and mere mischief Such men in other men's calamities are, as it were, in season, and are ever on the loading part not so good as the dogs that licked Lazarus' sores, but like flies that are still buzzing upon anything that is raw, *misanthropy*, that make it their practice to bring men to the bough, and yet have never a tree for the purpose in their gardens, as Timon had Such 60 dispositions are the very errors of human nature, and yet they are the fittest timber to make great politiques of, like to knee timber, that is good for ships, that are ordained to be tossed, but not for building houses, that shall stand firm The parts and signs of goodness are many If a man be gracious and courteous to strangers, it shows he is a citizen of the world, and that his heart is no island cut off from other lands, but a continent that joins to them If he be compassionate towards the afflictions of others, it shows that

70 his heart is like the noble tree that is wounded itself when it gives the balm. If he easily pardons and remits offences, it shows that his mind is planted above injuries, so that he cannot be shot. If he be thankful for small benefits, it shows that he weighs men's minds, and not their trash. But above all if he have St. Paul's perfection, that he would wish to die an *anathema* from Christ for the salvation of his brethren it shows much of a divine nature, and a kind of conformity with Christ himself.

XIV OF NOBILITY

poverty and inconvenience in a state, for it is a surcharge of expense, and besides, it being of necessity that many of the nobility fall in time to be weak in fortune, it maketh a kind of disproportion between honour and means

As for nobility in particular persons, it is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay, or 30 to see a fair timber tree sound and perfect. How much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time. For new nobility is but the act of power, but ancient nobility is the act of time. Those that are first raised to nobility are commonly more virtuous, but less innocent, than their descendants, for there is rarely any rising but by a commixture of good and evil arts. But it is reason the memory of their virtues remain to their posterity, and their faults die with themselves. Nobility of birth commonly abateth industry, and 40 he that is not industrious envieth him that is. Besides, noble persons cannot go much higher and he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly avoid motions of envy. On the other side, nobility extinguisheth the passive envy from others towards them, because they are in possession of honour. Certainly, kings that have able men of their nobility shall find ease in employing them, and a better slide into their business, for people naturally bend to them, as born in some sort to command.

XV OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES

SHERRARD of people had need know the calendars of tempests in state, which are commonly greatest when things grow to equality, as natural tempests are greatest about the *Equinoctia*. And as there are certain hollow blasts of wind and secret swellings of seas before a tempest, so are there in states.

Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus

Sæpe, mouet, fraudesque et operta tumescere bella

[Warning is often given that dark troubles are impending,

10 And that treachery and secret wars are threatening]

Labels and licentious discourses against the state, when they are frequent and open, and in like sort, false news often running up and down to the disadvantage of the state, and hastily embraced, are amongst the signs of troubles Virgil giving the pedigree of Fame, saith *she was sister to the Giants*

Illam terra parens, ira irritata deorum,

Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæco Enceladoque sororem

Progeniuit?

[Enraged against the Gods, Earth brought forth Fame,

20 Last of the giant blood Sister she was

To Caus and Enceladus]

As if fames were the relics of seditions past, but they are no less indeed the preludes of seditions to come. Howsoever he noteth it right, that seditious tumults and seditious fames differ no more but as brother and sister, masculine and feminine, especially if it come to that, that the best actions of a state, and the most plausible, and which ought to give greatest contentment, are taken in ill sense, and traduced for that shows the envy great, as Tacitus saith, *conflata*

30 *magna invidia, seu bene, seu male, gesta premunt* [When the government is unpopular, good acts and bad acts alike offend] Neither doth it follow, that because these fames are a sign of troubles, that the suppressing of them with too much severity should be a remedy of troubles. For the despising of them many times checks them best, and the going about to stop them doth but make a wonder long-lived. Also that kind of obedience which Tacitus speaketh of, is to be held suspected. *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent mandata imperantium interpretari, quam exequi,*

40 [They were ready to serve, but liked to criticize rather than obey the orders of their officers,] disputing, excusing, cavilling upon mandates and directions, is a kind of shaking off the yoke,

and assay of disobedience, especially if in those disputings they which are for the direction speak fearfully and tenderly, and those that are against it audaciously

- Also, as Machiavel noteth well, when princes, that ought to be common parents, make themselves as a party, and lean to a side, it is as a boat that is overthrown by uneven weight on the one side, as was well seen in the time of Henry the Third of France, for first himself entered league for the 50 extirpation of the Protestants, and presently after, the same league was turned upon himself. For when the authority of princes is made but an accessory to a cause, and that there be other bands that tie faster than the band of sovereignty, kings begin to be put almost out of possession

Also, when discords, and quarrels, and factions, are carried openly and audaciously, it is a sign the reverence of government is lost. For the motion of the greatest persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under *primum mobile* (according to the old opinion), which is, that every of 60 them is carried swiftly by the highest motion, and softly in their own motion. And therefore, when great ones in their own particular motion move violently, and, as Tacitus expreseth it well, *liberius quam ut imperantium meminissent*, [*more freely than is consistent with obedience to authority*,] it is a sign the orbs are out of frame. For reverence is that wherewith princes are girt from God, who threateneth the dissolving thereof, *Solvam cingula regum*. [*I will loose the girdles of kings*]

So when any of the four pillars of government are mainly shaken or weakened (which are Religion, Justice, Counsel, 70 and Treasure), men had need to pray for fair weather. But let us pass from this part of predictions (concerning which, nevertheless, more light may be taken from that which followeth), and let us speak first of the Materials of seditions, then of the Motives of them, and thirdly of the Remedies.

Concerning the Materials of seditions. It is a thing well to be considered, for the surest way to prevent seditions (if

before the civil war,

Hinc omnia vix capere possunt in longos ferros,

Hinc omnia vix est multo vixile bellum

[*It is not easy to carry all into long swords, and it is not easy to have many*]

- 99 This same *multo vixile bellum* is an ancient and infallible sign of a state disposed to sedition and trouble. And if this poverty and broken estate in the better sort be joined with a want and necessity in the mean people, the danger is imminent and great. For the rebellion of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments, they are in the politic look like to humours in the natural which are apt to gather a preternatural heat and to inflame. And let no prince measure the danger of them by this, whether they be just or unjust: for that were to imagine people to be too reasonable.
- 100 who do often spurn at their own good: nor yet by this whether the griefs whereupon they rise be in fact great or small: for they are the most dangerous discontentments where the fear is greater than the feeling. *Dolendi melius, timendi non item*. [*There is a limit to suffering, but not to fear*]. Besides, in great oppressions, the same things that provoke the patience, do withdraw the courage, but in fears it is not so. Neither let any prince or state be secure concerning discontentments because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no peril hath ensued: for as it is
- 110 true that every vapour or fume doth not turn into a storm, so it is nevertheless true that storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last, and, as the Spanish proverb noteth well, *The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull*.

The Causes and Motives of seditions are, innovation in religion; taxes, alteration of laws and customs, breaking of privileges, general oppression, advancement of unworthy persons; strangers, dearths; disbanded soldiers, factions grown desperate; and whatsoever, in offending people, joyneth and knitteth them in a common cause. 120

For the Remedies, there may be some general preservatives, whereof we will speak as for the just cure, it must answer to the particular disease, and so be left to counsel rather than rule.

The first remedy or prevention is to remove by all means possible that material cause of sedition whereof we spake, which is, want and poverty in the estate To which purpose serveth, the opening and well-balancing of trade, the cherishing of manufactures; the banishing of idleness, the repressing of waste and excess by sumptuary laws, the improvement and husbanding of the soil, the regulating of prices of things vendible, the moderating of taxes and tributes, and the like Generally, it is to be foreseen that the population of a kingdom (especially if it be not mown down by wars) do not exceed the stock of the kingdom which should maintain them Neither is the population to be reckoned only by number, for a smaller number, that spend more and earn less, do wear out an estate sooner than a greater number that live lower and gather more Therefore the multiplying of nobility and other degrees of quality in an over-proportion to the common people, doth speedily bring a state to necessity, and so doth likewise an over-grown clergy, for they bring nothing to the stock, and in like manner, when more are bred scholars than preferments can take off 130 140

- It is likewise to be remembered, that forasmuch as the increase of any estate must be upon the foreigner (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten is somewhere lost), there be but three things which one nation selleth unto another, the commodity as nature yieldeth it, the manufacture, and the 150

recture, or carriage So that if these three wheels go, wealth will flow as in a spring tide And it cometh many times to pass, that *materiam superabit opus*, that the work and carriage is more worth than the material, and enricheth a state more, as is notably seen in the Low-Countrymen, who have the best mines above ground in the world

Above all things, good policy is to be used that the treasure and monies in a state be not gathered into few hands For otherwise a state may have a great stock, and yet starve And money is like muck, not good except it be spread This is done chiefly by suppressing, or at least keeping a strait hand upon the devouring trades of usury, engrossing, great pasturages, and the like

For removing discontentments, or at least the danger of them, there is in every state (as we know) two portions of subjects, the nobless and the commonalty When one of these is discontent, the danger is not great, for common people are of slow motion, if they be not excited by the greater sort, and the greater sort are of small strength, except the multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves Then is the danger, when the greater sort do but wait for the troubling of the waters amongst the meaner, that then they may declare themselves The poets feign, that the rest of the gods would have bound Jupiter, which he hearing of, by the counsel of Pallas, sent for Briareus, with his hundred hands, to come in to his aid An emblem, no doubt, to shew how safe it is for monarchs to make sure of the good will of common people

To give moderate liberty for griefs and discontentments to evaporate (so it be without too great insolency or bravery), is a safe way For he that turneth the humours back, and maketh the wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign ulcers and pernicious imposthumations

The part of Epimetheus might well become Prometheus, in the case of discontentments, for there is not a better provision against them Epimetheus, when griefs and evils

flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept hope in the bottom of the vessel. Certainly, the politic and artificial nourishing and entertaining of hopes, and carrying men from hopes to hopes, is one of the best antidotes against the poison of discontentments. And it is a certain sign of a wise government and proceeding when it can hold mens hearts by hopes, when it cannot by satisfaction, and when it can handle things in such manner, as no evil shall appear so peremptory but that it hath some outlet of hope which is the less hard to do, because both particular persons and factions are apt enough to flatter themselves, or at least to brave that they believe not.

Also the foresight and prevention, that there be no likely or fit head whereunto discontented persons may resort, and under whom they may join, is a known, but an excellent point of caution. I understand a fit head to be one that hath greatness and reputation, that hath confidence with the discontented party, and upon whom they turn their eyes, and that is thought discontented in his own particular which kind of persons are either to be won and reconciled to the state, and that in a fast and true manner, or to be fronted with some other of the same party, that may oppose them, and so divide the reputation. Generally, the dividing and breaking of all factions and combinations that are adverse to the state, and setting them at distance, or at least distrust, among themselves, is not one of the worst remedies. For it is a desperate case, if those that hold with the proceeding of the state be full of discord and faction, and those that are against it be entire and united.

I have noted that some witty and sharp speeches which have fallen from princes have given fire to seditious. Caesar did himself infinite hurt in that speech, *Sylla nescivit literas, non potuit dictare*, [*Sylla had not skill of letters, therefore knew not how to dictate.*] for it did utterly cut off that hope which men had entertained, that he would at one time or other give over his dictatorship. Galba undid himself by that speech,

liqui a se militem, non emi [I do not buy soldiers, but enlist them] for it put the soldiers out of hope of the donative Probus likewise, by that speech, *Si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano imperio militibus*, [If I live the Roman empire will no longer want soldiers,] a speech of great despair for the soldiers And many the like Surely princes had need, in tender matters and ticklish 'times, to
 230 beware what they say, especially in these short speeches, which fly abroad like darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret intentions For as for large discourses, they are flat things, and not so much noted

Lastly, let princes, against all events, not be without some great person, one or rather more, of military valour, near unto them, for the repressing of seditions in their beginnings For without that, there useth to be more trepidation in court upon the first breaking out of trouble than were fit And the state runneth the danger of that which Tacitus saith,
 240 *Itaque is habitus animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures reltent, omnes paterentur* But let such military persons be assured, and well reputed of, rather than factious and popular, holding also good correspondence with the other great men in the state, or else the remedy is worse than the disease

XVI OF ATHEISM

I had rather believe all the fables in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind And therefore God never wrought miracles to convince atheism, because his ordinary works convince it It is true, that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion For while the mind of man looketh upon second causes scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no farther, but when it beholdeth the chain of them,

confederate and linked together, it must needs fly to Providence and Deity. Nay, even that school which is most accused of atheism doth most demonstrate religion, that is, the school of Leucippus and Democritus and Epicurus. For it is a thousand times more credible, that four mutable elements, and one immutable fifth essence, duly and eternally placed, need no God, than that an army of infinite small portions or seeds unplaced, should have produced this order and beauty without a divine marshal. The Scripture saith, *The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God*, it is not said, *The fool hath thought in his heart*, so as he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, than that he can thoroughly believe it, or be persuaded of it. For none deny there is a God, but those for whom it maketh that there were no God. It appeareth in nothing more, that atheism is rather in the lip than in the heart of man, than by this, that atheists will ever be talking of that their opinion, as if they fainted in it within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened by the consent of others. Nay more, you shall have atheists strive to get disciples, as it fareth with other sects. And, which is most of all, you shall have of them that will suffer for atheism, and not recant, whereas if they did truly think that there were no such thing as God, why should they trouble themselves? Epicurus is charged that he did but dissemble for his credit's sake, when he affirmed there were blessed natures, but such as enjoy themselves without having respect to the government of the world. Wherein they say he did temporize, though in secret he thought there was no God. But certainly he is traduced, for his words are noble and divine. *Non deos vulgi negare profanum, sed vulgi opiniones diis applicare profanum* [Profanity consists, not in denying the Gods of the vulgar, but in applying to the Gods the conceptions of the vulgar] Plato could have said no more. And although he had the confidence to deny the administration, he had not the power to deny the nature. The Indians of the West have names for

then particular gods, though they have no name for God (as if the heathens should have had the names Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, etc, but not the word Deity), which sheweth that even those brutish people have the notion, though they have
 50 not the latitude and extent of it. So that against atheists the very savages take part with the very subtlest philosophers. The contemplative atheist is rare: a Diagoras, a Bion, a Lucian perhaps, and some others, and yet they seem to be more than they are, for that all that impugn a received religion or superstition are by the adverse part branded with the name of atheists. But the great atheists indeed are hypocrites, which are ever handling holy things, but without feeling, so as they must needs be cauterized in the end. The causes of atheism are, divisions in religion, if
 60 they be many (for any one main division addeth zeal to both sides, but many divisions introduce atheism). Another is, scandal of priests, when it is come to that which St Bernard saith, *Non est jam dicere, ut populus, sic sacerdos, quia nec sic populus, ut sacerdos*, [One can now no longer say that the priest is as the people, for the people are now better than the priest,] a third is, a custom of profane scoffing in holy matters, which doth by little and little deface the reverence of religion. And lastly, learned times, especially with peace and prosperity, for troubles and adversities do more bow
 70 men's minds to religion. They that deny a God destroy man's nobility, for certainly man is of kin to the beasts by his body, and, if he be not of kin to God by his spirit, he is a base and ignoble creature. It destroys likewise magnanimity, and the raising of human nature, for take an example of a dog, and mark what a generosity and courage he will put on when he finds himself maintained by a man, who to him is instead of a God, or *melior natura*, which courage is manifestly such as that creature, without that confidence of a better nature than his own, could never attain. So man,
 80 when he resteth and assureth himself upon divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith which human nature

in itself could not obtain. Therefore, as atheism is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human nature of the means to exalt itself above human frailty. As it is in particular persons, so it is in nations. Never was there such a state for magnanimity as Rome. Of this state hear what Cicero saith. *Quam volumus licet, p-stres conscripti, nos amemus torrea nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Paños, nec artibus Græcos nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis et rer domesticis patriæque et seu Italos ipsos et Latinos, sed pietate, ac religione, atque hac una sapientia, quod Decorum in mortaliū nomine omnia regi gubernarique precepimus, omnes gentes patienterque speramus.* [However highly we may think of ourselves, yet we are not superior to the Spaniards in valour, to the Gauls in strength, to the Carthaginians in cunning, nor even to the Italians and Latins in the homely and native sense which characterizes that nation and land but in piety, religion, and the single wisdom of understanding that all things are guided and governed by the Providence of the immortal Gods, we surpass all nations and peoples.]

XVII. OF SUPERSTITION

It were better to have no opinion of God at all, than such an opinion as is unworthy of him. For the one is unbelief, the other is contumely and certainly superstition is the reproach of the Deity. Plutarch saith well to that purpose. *Surely (saith he) I had rather a great deal men should say there was no such man at all as Plutarch, than that they should say that there was one Plutarch that would eat his children as soon as they were born, as the poets speak of Saturn.* And 'tis the contumely is greater towards God, so the danger is greater towards men. Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation; all of which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not, but superstition dismounts all

these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men. Therefore atheism did never perturb states, for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further; and we see the times inclined to atheism (as the time of Augustus (1581) were civil times. But superstition hath been the confusion of many states, and bringeth in a new *primum* 20 *mobile*, that moveth all the spheres of government. The master of superstition is the people, and in all superstition wise men follow fools, and arguments are fitted to practice, in a reversed order. It was gravely said by some of the prelates in the Council of Trent, where the doctrine of the schoolmen bore great sway, *that the schoolmen were like astro-* 30 *nomers, which did feign eccentrics and epicycles, and such engines of orbs, to save the phenomena, though they knew there were no such things*; and in like manner, that the schoolmen had framed a number of subtle and intricate axioms and theorems to save the practice of the church. The causes of superstition are, pleasing and sensual rites and ceremonies, excess of outward and pharisaical holiness, over-great reverence of traditions which cannot but load the church, the stratagems of prelates for their own ambition and lucre, the favouring too much of good intentions, which openeth the gate to conceits and novelties, the taking an aim at divine matters by human, which cannot but breed mixture of imaginations; and, lastly, barbarous times, especially joined with calamities and disasters. Superstition, without a veil, 40 is a deformed thing, for as it addeth deformity to an ape to be so like a man, so the similitude of superstition to religion makes it the more deformed. And as wholesome meat corrupteth to little worms, so good forms and orders corrupt into a number of petty observances. There is a superstition in avoiding superstition, when men think to do best if they go furthest from the superstition formerly received, therefore care could be had that (as it fareth in all purgings) the good be not taken away with the bad, which commonly is done when the people is the reformer.

XVIII. OF TRAVEL.

TRAVEL, in the younger sort, is a part of school-work; in the elder, a part of experience. He that travelleth in a country before he hath some entrance into the language, goeth to school, and not to travel. That young man travelleth not as a laborer, or grave servant, I allow well, so that he be such a one that hath the language, and hath been in the country before, whereby he may be able to tell them what they are worthy to be seen in the country where they go; what acquaintances they are to seek, what services or descriptions the place yieldeth. For the young man shall get much, and look abroad little. It is a strange thing, that in sea-journeys, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should mile drives, but in land-travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part they omit it; as if chains were fitter to be registered than observation. Let drives therefore be brought in use. The things to be seen and observed are, the courts of princes, especially when they give audience to ambassadors, the courts of justice, while they sit and hear causes, and so of consistories ecclesiastical, the churches and monasteries, with the monuments which are therein extant, on the walls and fortifications of cities and towns, and so the havens and harbours; antiquities and ruins, libraries, colleges, disputations, and lectures, where any are, whipping and naives; houses and gardens of state and pleasure, near great cities, armories, arsenals; magazines, exchanges; houses, warehouses, exercises of horsemanship, fencing, training of soldiers, and the like, comedies, such whereunto the better sort of persons do resort - treasures of jewels and robes, cabinets and rarities; and, to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the places where they go. After all which the tutors, or servants ought to make diligent inquiry. As for triumphs, masques, feasts, weddings, funerals, capital executions, and such shows, men need not be put in mind of them; yet are they

not to be neglected If you will have a young man to put his travel into a little room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do First as was said, he must have some entrance into the language before he goeth Then he must have such a servant or tutor as knoweth the country, as was likewise said Let him carry with him also some card or book describing the country where he travelleth, which will be a good key to his inquiry Let him keep also a diary Let him not stay long in one city or town, more or less as the place deserveth, but not long, nay, when he stayeth in one city or town, let him change his lodging from one end and part of the town to another, which is a great adamant of acquaintance Let him sequester himself from the company of his countrymen, and diet in such places where there is good company of the nation where he travelleth Let him upon his removes from one place to another, procure recommendation to some person of quality residing in the place whither he removeth, that he may use his favour in those things he desireth to see or know Thus he may abridge his travel with much profit As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in travel, that which is most of all profitable, is acquaintance with the secretaries and employed men of ambassadors, for so in travelling in one country, he shall suck the experience of many Let him also see and visit eminent persons in all kinds, which are of great name abroad, that he may be able to tell how the life agreeth with the fame

60 For quarrels, they are with care and discretion to be avoided They are commonly for mistresses, healths, place, and words And let a man beware how he keepeth company with cholerick and quarrelsome persons, for they will engage him into their own quarrels When a traveller returneth home, let him not leave the countries where he hath travelled altogether behind him, but maintain a correspondence by letters with those of his acquaintance which are of most worth And let his travel appear rather in his discourse than in his apparel or gesture, and in his discourse let him be rather advised in his answers,

than forward to tell stories, and let it appear that he doth 70
not change his country manners for those of foreign parts,
but only prick in some flowers of that he hath learned abroad
into the customs of his own country

XIX. OF EMPIRE

It is a miserable state of mind to have few things to desire
and many things to fear, and yet that commonly is the case
of kings, who, being at the highest, want matter of desire,
which makes their minds more languishing, and have many
representations of perils and shadows, which makes their
minds the less clear. And this is one reason also of that
effect which the Scripture speaketh of, *That the king's heart*
is inscrutable. For multitude of jealousies, and lack of some
predominant desire that should marshal and put in order all
the rest, maketh any man's heart hard to find or sound 10
Hence it comes likewise, that princes many times make
themselves desires, and set their hearts upon toys, sometimes
upon a building, sometimes upon erecting of an order, &
sometimes upon the advancing of a person, sometimes upon
obtaining excellency in some art or feat of the hand, as Nero
for playing on the harp, Domitian for certainty of the hand
with the arrow, Commodus for playing at fence, Caracalla for
driving chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible unto
those that know not the principle *that the mind of man is*
more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small things, than by 20
standing at a stay in great. We see also that kings that have
been fortunate conquerors in their first years, it being not
possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must
have some check or arrest in their fortunes, turn in their latter
years to be superstitious and melancholy, as did Alexander
the Great, Dioclesian, and in our memory, Charles the Fifth,
and others. For he that is used to go forward, and findeth a
stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was

To speak now of the true temper of empire, it is a thing
 30 rare and hard to keep, for both temper and distemper consist
 of contraries. But it is one thing to mingle contraries, another to interchange them. The answer of Apollonius to Vespasian is full of excellent instruction. Vespasian asked him, *What was Nero's overthrow?* He answered, *Nero could touch and tune the harp well, but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low.* And certain it is that nothing destroyeth authority so much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

40 This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter times in princes' affairs is rather fine deliveries and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs when they are near, than solid and grounded courses to keep them aloof. But this is but to try mysteries with fortune. And let men beware how they neglect and suffer matters of trouble to be prepared, for no man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in princes' business are many and great, but the greatest difficulty is often in their own mind. For it is common with princes (saith Tacitus) to will contradictories.
 50 *Sunt plerumque regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contraræ.* [As a rule, the desires of kings are strong and inconsistent.] For it is the solecism of power to think to command the end, and yet not to endure the mean.

5 Kings have to deal with their neighbours, their wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their second nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men of war, and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used.

First for their neighbours, there can no general rule be
 60 given (the occasions are so variable), save one, which ever holdeth, which is, that princes do keep due sentinel, that none of their neighbours do overgrow so (by increase of territory, by embracing of trade, by approaches, or the like), as they become more able to annoy them than they were.

And this is generally the work of standing councils to foresee and to hinder it. During that triumvirate of kings, King Henry the Eighth of England, Francis the First King of France, and Charles the Fifth Emperor, there was such a watch kept, that none of the three could win a palm of ground, but the other two would straightways balance it, 70 either by confederation, or, if need were, by a war, and would not in any wise take up peace at interest. And the like was done by that league (which Gucciardine saith was the security of Italy) made between Ferdinando King of Naples, Lorenzius Medices, and Ludovicus Sforza, potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the opinion of some of the schoolmen to be received, that a war cannot justly be made but upon a precedent injury or provocation. For there is no question but a just fear of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful 80 cause of a war.

For their wives, there are cruel examples of them. Livia is infamed for the poisoning of her husband, Roxalana, Solyman's wife, was the destruction of that renowned prince Sultan Mustapha, and otherwise troubled his house and succession, Edward the Second of England his queen had the principal hand in the deposing and murdering of her husband. This kind of danger is then to be feared chiefly, when the wives have plots for the raising of their own children, or else that they be advoutresses 90

For their children, the tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many. And generally, the entering of fathers into suspicion of their children hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha (that we named before) was so fatal to Solyman's line, as the succession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood, for that Selymus the Second was thought to be supposititious. The destruction of Crispus, a young prince of rare towardness, by Constantinus the Great, his father, was in like manner fatal to his house, for 100

For their merchants, they are *vena porta*, and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little. Taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good to the king's revenue, for that that he wins in the hundred he leeseeth in the shire, the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased 140

For their commons, there is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent heads, or where you meddle with the point of religion, or then customs, or means of life

For their men of war, it is a dangerous state where they live and remain in a body, and are used to donatives, 150 whereof we see examples in the janizaries, and pretorian bands of Rome, but trainings of men, and arming them in several places, and under several commanders, and without donatives, are things of defence, and no danger

Princes are like to heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times, and which have much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances, *Memento quod es homo*, and *Memento quod es Deus*, or *vice Dei*, [*Remember that you are a man*, and *Remember that you are a God*, or *God's vice-* 160 *gerent*] the one bridleth their power, and the other their will

XX. OF COUNSEL

THE greatest trust between man and man is the trust of giving counsel. For in other confidences men commit the parts of life, then lands, their goods, their children, their credit, some particular affair, but to such as they make their counsellors, they commit the whole by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness,

or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely upon counsel. God himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great names of his blessed Son, *The Counsellor*. Salomon hath pronounced that *in counsel is stability*. Things will have their first or second agitation if they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune, and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. Salomon's son found the force of counsel, as his father saw the necessity of it. For the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill counsel, upon which counsel there are set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad counsel is for ever best discerned, that it was young counsel, for the persons, and violent counsel, for the matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel with kings, and the wise and politic use of counsel by kings. the one, in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth counsel, whereby they intend that Sovereignty is married to Counsel. the other in that which followeth, which was thus. They say, after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him and was with child, but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but ate her up, whereby he became himself with child, and was delivered of Pallas armed, out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of empire, how kings are to make use of their counsel of state. That first they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation, but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their counsel, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their counsel to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them, but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world that the decrees and final directions (which, because they come forth with prudence and power, are resembled to Pallas armed) proceeded from themselves.

and not only from their authority, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their head and device

Let us now speak of the inconveniences of counsel, and of the remedies The inconveniences that have been noted in calling and using counsel, are three First, the revealing of affairs, whereby they become less secret Secondly, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were less of 50 themselves Thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel than of him that is counselled For which inconveniences, the doctrine of Italy, and practice of France, in some kings' times, hath introduced *cabinet* councils, a remedy worse than the disease

As to secrecy, princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counsellors, but may extract and select Neither is it necessary that he that consulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do But let princes 60 beware that the unsecreting of their affairs comes not from themselves And as for cabinet councils, it may be then motto, *Plenus rimarum sum* [*Full of chinks*] One futile person that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many that know it their duty to conceal It is true that there be some affairs which require extreme secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons besides the king neither are those counsels unprosperous, for, besides the secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one spirit of direction, without distraction But then it must be a prudent 70 king, such as is able to grind with a hand mill, and those inward counsellors had need also be wise men, and especially true and trusty to the king's ends, as it was with King Henry the Seventh of England, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton and Fox

For weakening of authority, the fable sheweth the remedy Nay, the majesty of kings is rather exalted than diminished when they are in the chair of counsel, neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependences by his counsel,

80 except where there hath been either an over-greatness in one counsellor or an over-strict combination in divers, which are things soon found and holpen

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with an eye to themselves, certainly, *non inveniet fidem super terram*, [*He shall not find faith upon the earth*] is meruit of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithful, and sincere, and plain, and direct, not crafty and involved, let princes, above all, draw to themselves such natures. Besides, counsellors are not commonly so united, 90 but that one counsellor keepeth sentinel over another, so that if any do counsel out of faction or private ends, it commonly comes to the king's ear. But the best remedy is, if princes know their counsellors, as well as their counsellors know them

Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos

[*The chief virtue of a ruler is to know his subjects*] And on the other side, counsellors should not be too speculative into their sovereign's person. The true composition of a counsellor is rather to be skilful in his master's business, 100 than in his nature, for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his humour. It is of singular use to princes if they take the opinions of their council both separately and together. For private opinion is more free, but opinion before others is more reverend. In private, men are more bold in their own humours, and in consort, men are more obnoxious to others' humours, therefore it is good to take both, and of the inferior sort rather in private, to preserve freedom, of the greater rather in consort, to preserve respect. It is in vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they 110 take no counsel likewise concerning persons, for all matters are as dead images, and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons. Neither is it enough to consult concerning persons *secundum genera* [by classes], as in an idea, or mathematical description, what the kind and character of the person should be, for the greatest errors

are committed, and the most judgment is shown, in the choice of individuals. It was truly said, *Optimi consiliarii mortui* [the dead are the best counsellors] books will speak plain when counsellors blanch. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves 120 have been actors upon the stage.

The councils at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather tallied on than debated. And they run too swift to the order or act of council. It were better that in causes of weight, the matter were propounded one day and not spoken to till the next day, *in nocte consilium* [the night should be spent in deliberation]. So was it done in the commission of Union between England and Scotland, which was a grave and orderly assembly. I commend set days for petitions, for both it gives the suitors 130 more certainly for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of estate, that they may *hoc agere*. In choice of committees for ripening business for the council, it is better to choose indifferent persons, than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend also standing commissions, as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces, for where there be divers particular councils, and but one council of estate (as it is in Spain), they are, in effect, no more than standing commissions save that they have greater authority. Let 140 such as are to inform councils out of their particular professions, (as lawyers, sermons, mintmen, and the like,) be first heard before committees, and then, as occasion serves, before the council. And let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitious manner, for that is to clamour councils, not to inform them. A long table and a square table, or seats about the walls, seem things of form, but are things of substance, for at a long table a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the business, but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A king, when he pre- 150 sides in council, let him beware how he opens his own

inclination too much in that which he propoundeth, for else counsellors will but take the wind of him, and instead of giving free counsel, sing him a song of *placebo*

XXI OF DELAYS

- FORREVER is like the market, where many times, if you can stay a little, the price will fall. And again, it is sometimes like Sibylla's offer, which at first offereth the commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the price. For occasion (as it is in the common verse) *turneth a bald noddle*, after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken, or at least turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after the belly, which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater wisdom than well to time the
- 10 beginnings and onsets of things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light, and more dangers have deceived men than forced them. Nay, it were better to meet some dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches, for if a man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with too long shadows (as some have been when the moon was low and shone on their enemies' back), and so to shoot off before the time, or to teach dangers to come on, by over early buckling towards them, is another extreme.
- 20 The ripeness or unripeness of the occasion (as we said) must ever be well weighed, and generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argus with his hundred eyes and the ends to Briareus with his hundred hands, first to watch, and then to speed. For the helmet of Pluto, which maketh the politic man go invisible, is secrecy in the counsel and celerity in the execution. For when things are once come to the execution there is no secrecy comparable to celerity. Like the motion of a bullet in the air, which flieth so swift as it outruns the eye.

OF CUNNING

XXII OF CUNNING

We take Cunning for a ~~sinister~~ ^{subtle} or crooked wisdom And certainly there is a great difference between a cunning man and a wise man, not only in point of honesty, but in point of ability There be that can pack the cards, and yet cannot play well, so there are some that are good in canvasses and factions, that are otherwise weak men Again, it is one thing to understand persons, and another thing to understand matters, for many are perfect in men's humours, that are not greatly capable of the real part of business, which is the constitution of one that hath studied men more than books 10 Such men are fitter for practice than for counsel, and they are good but in their own alley turn them to new men, and they have lost their aim, so as the old rule to know a fool from a wise man, *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, et ridebis*, [*Send them both naked to strangers, and you will see,*] doth scarce hold for them And because these cunning men are like haberdashers of small wares, it is not amiss to set forth their shop

It is a point of cunning, to wait upon him with whom you speak, with your eye, as the Jesuits give it in precept for 20 there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances Yet this would be done with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use

Another is, that when you have anything to obtain of present despatch, you entertain and amuse the party with whom you deal with some other discourse, that he be not too much awake to make objections I knew a counsellor and secretary, that never came to Queen Elizabeth of England with bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some discourse of estate, that she mought the less mind the bills 30

The like surpise may be made by moving things when the party is in haste, and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved.

If a man would cross a business that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself in such sort as may foil it

The breaking off in the midst of that one was about to say, as if he took himself up, breeds a greater appetite in him
40 with whom you confer to know more

And because it works better when anything seemeth to be gotten from you by question, than if you offer it of yourself, you may lay a bait for a question, by shewing another visage and countenance than you are wont, to the end to give occasion for the party to ask what the matter is of the change, as Nchemiah did, *And I had not before that time been sad before the king*

In things that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less weight, and
50 to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the question upon the other's speech, as Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius the marriage of Messalina and Silus

In things that a man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of cunning to borrow the name of the world, as to say, *The world says*, or *There is a speech abroad*

I knew one that, when he wrote a letter, he would put that which was most material in the postscript, as if it had been a bye matter

60 I knew another that, when he came to have speech, he would pass over that that he intended most, and go forth, and come back again, and speak of it as of a thing that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves to be surprised at such times as it is like the party that they work upon will suddenly come upon them, and to be found with a letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed, to the end they may be apposed of those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter

It is a point of cunning, to let fall those words in a man's own name, which he would have another man learn and use, and thereupon take advantage. I knew two that were competitors for the secretary's place in Queen Elizabeth's time, and yet kept good quarter between themselves, and would confer one with another upon the business, and the one of them said, That to be a secretary *in the declination of a monarchy* was a ticklish thing, and that he did not affect it. The other straight caught up those words, and discoursed with divers of his friends, that he had no reason to desire to be secretary *in the declination of a monarchy*. The first man took hold of it, and found means it was told the Queen, who hearing of a *declination of a monarchy*, took it so ill, as she would never after hear of the other's suit.

There is a cunning, which we in England call *The turning of the cat, in the pan*, which is, when that which a man says to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him. And to say truth, it is not easy, when such a matter passed between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way that some men have, to glance and dart at others by justifying themselves by negatives, as to say, *Thus I do not*; as Tigellinus did towards Burrhus, *Se non diversas spes, sed incolumitatem imperatoris simpliciter spectare* ["I have no eye," he said, "to two conflicting aims, but only to the emperor's safety"]

Some have in readiness so many tales and stories, as there is nothing they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a tale, which serveth both to keep themselves more in guard, and to make others carry it with more pleasure.

It is a good point of cunning, for a man to shape the answer he would have in his own words and propositions, for it makes the other party stick the less.

It is strange how long some men will lie in wait to speak somewhat they desire to say, and how far about they will fetch, and how many other matters they will beat over, to

XXIII OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF

AN ant is a wise creature for it self, but it is a shrewd thing in an orchard or garden. And certainly men that are great lovers of themselves waste the public. Divide with reason between self love and society, and be so true to thyself, as thou be not false to others, especially to thy king and country. It is a poor centre of a man's actions, *himself*. It is right earth. For that only stands fast upon his own centre, whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens, move upon the centre of another, which they benefit. The refer-

ring of all to a man's self is more tolerable in a sovereign 10 prince because themselves are not only themselves, but then good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune. But it is a desperate evil in a servant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic. For whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands, he crooketh them to his own ends, which must needs be often eccentric to the ends of his master or state. Therefore let princes, or states, choose such servants as have not this mark, except they mean their service should be made but the accessary. That which maketh the effect more pernicious is that all proportion is lost. It were disproportion enough for the 20 servant's good to be preferred before the master's, but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servant shall carry things against a great good of the master's. And yet that is the case of bad officers, treasurers, ambassadors, generals, and other false and corrupt servants, which set a bias upon their bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their master's great and important affairs and for the most part, the good such servants receive is after the model of their own fortune, but the hurt they sell for that good is after the model of their master's fortune. And 30 certainly it is the nature of extreme self-lovers as they will set an house on fire, and it were but to roast their eggs, and yet these men many times hold credit with their masters, because their study is but to please them and profit themselves, and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wisdom for a man's self is, in many branches thereof, a depraved thing. It is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it fall. It is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger, who digged and made 40 room for him. It is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is, that those which (as Cicero says of Pompey) are *amantes sine rivali* [lovers of themselves, without a rival] are many times unfortunate. And whereas they

have all their time sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune, whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned

XXIV OF INNOVATIONS

As the births of living creatures at first are ill-shapen, so are all Innovations, which are the births of time Yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed, so the first precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by imitation For Ill, to man's nature as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion, strongest in continuance, but Good has a forced motion, strongest at first Surely every medicine is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect
 10 new evils, for time is the greatest innovator, and if time of course alter things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end? It is true, that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at lest it is fit, and those things which have long gone together, are as it were confederate within themselves, whereas new things piece not so well, but though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity Besides, they are like strangers, more admired and less favoured All this is true, if time stood still, which contrariwise moveth
 20 so round, that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation, and they that reverence too much old times, are but a scorn to the new It were good therefore that men in their innovations would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived For otherwise, whatsoever is new is unlooked for, and ever it mends some, and pains others, and he that is holpen takes it for a fortune, and thanks the time, and he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the author It is good also not to try experi-

ments in states, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility 30
 evident, and well to beware that it be the reformation that
draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that
pretendeth the reformation And lastly, that the novelty,
 though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect, and, as
 the Scripture saith, *that we make a stand upon the ancient*
way, and then look about us, and discover what is the straight
and right way, and so to walk in it

OF DIS

XXV OF DISPATCH

AFFECTED dispatch is one of the most dangerous things to
 business that can be It is like that which the physicians
 call predigestion, or hasty digestion, which is sure to fill
 the body full of crudities and secret seeds of diseases
Therefore measure not dispatch by the times of sitting,
but by the advancement of the business And as in races
 it is not the large stride or high lift that makes the speed,
 so in business, the keeping close to the matter, and not
 taking of it too much at once, procureth dispatch It is the
 care of some only to come off speedily for the time, or to 10
 contrive some false periods of business, because they may
 seem men of dispatch But it is one thing to abbreviate
 by contracting, another by cutting off And business so
 handled at several sittings or meetings goeth commonly back-
 ward and forward in an unsteady manner I knew a wise
 man that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a
 conclusion, *Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner*

On the other side, true dispatch is a rich thing For
 time is the measure of business, as money is of wares, and
 business is bought at a dear hand where there is small 20
 dispatch The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted
 to be of small dispatch, *Mi renga la muerte de Spagna, Let*
my death come from Spain, for then it will be sure to be long
 in coming

Give good hearing to those that give the first information in business, and rather direct them in the beginning, than interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches, for he that is put out of his own order will go forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his memory, 30 than he could have been if he had gone on in his own course. But sometimes it is seen that the moderator is more trouble some than the actor.

Iterations are commonly loss of time. But there is no such gain of time as to iterate often the state of the question, for it chaseth away many a frivolous speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious speeches are as fit for dispatch, as a robe or mantle with a long train is for a race. Prefaces and passages, and excusations, and other speeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time, and though they seem 40 to proceed of modesty, they are bravery. Yet beware of being too material when there is any impediment or obstruction in men's wills, for pre-occupation of mind ever requireth preface of speech, like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, order, and distribution, and singling out of parts, is the life of dispatch, so as the distribution be not too subtle. For he that doth not divide will never enter well into business, and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. To choose time is to save time, and an unseasonable motion is but beating the air. There be 50 three parts of business, the preparation, the debate or examination, and the perfection. Whereof, if you look for dispatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding upon somewhat conceived in writing doth for the most part facilitate dispatch, for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction than an indefinite, as ashes are more generative than dust.

XXVI. OF SEEMING WISE

It hath been an opinion that the French are wiser than they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are. But howsoever it be between nations, certainly it is so between man and man. For as the Apostle saith of godliness, *Having a show of godliness, but denying the power thereof*, so certainly there are in point of wisdom and sufficiency, that do nothing or little very solemnly *Magno conatu nugas*. It is a ridiculous thing and fit for a satire to persons of judgment, to see what shifts these formalists have, and what prospectives to make *superficies* to seem body that hath 10 depth and bulk. Some are so close and reserved, as they will not shew their wares but by a dark light, and seem always to keep back somewhat, and when they know within themselves they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others to know of that which they may not well speak. Some help themselves with countenance and gesture, and are wise by signs, as Cicero saith of Piso, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin, *Respondes, altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum* 20 *depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere*. Some think to bear it by speaking a great word, and being peremptory, and go on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise or make light of it as impertinent or curious, and so would have their ignorance seem judgment. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amusing men with a subtilty, blanch the matter, of whom A. Gellius saith, *Hominem delirum, qui verborum minutus rerum frangit pondera* [A silly person who by verbal subtilties breaks up the 30 mass of matter]. Of which kind also Plato, in his Protagoras, bringeth in Prodicus in scorn, and maketh him make a speech that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to

the end. Generally, such men in all deliberations find ease to be of the negative side, and affect a credit to object and foretell difficulties, for when propositions are denied, there is an end of them, but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work, which false point of wisdom is the bane of business. To conclude, there is no deceiving merchant, or inward
 40 beggar, hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their wealth, as these empty persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency. Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion, but let no man choose them for employment, for certainly you were better take for business a man somewhat absurd than over-formal.

XXVII. OF FRIENDSHIP

It had been hard for him that spake it to have put more truth and untruth together in few words, than in that speech, *Whosoever is delighted in solitude is either a wild beast or a god*. For it is most true that a natural and secret hatred and aversion towards society in any man, hath somewhat of the savage beast, but it is most untrue that it
 , should have any character at all of the divine nature, except it proceed, not out of a pleasure in solitude, but out of a love and desire to sequester a man's self for a higher
 10 conversation such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the heathens, as Epimenides the Cretan, Numæ the Roman, Empedocles the Sicilian, and Apollonius of Tyre, and truly and really in divers of the ancient hermits and holy fathers of the church. But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth. For a crowd is not company, and faces are but a gallery of pictures, and talk but a tinkling cymbal, where there is no love. The Latin adage meeteth with it a little *Magna civitas, magna solitudo*, [*A great city is a great solitude*,]
 20 because in a great town friends are scattered, so that there

is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods. But we may go further, and affirm most truly that it is a mere and miserable solitude to want true friends, without which the world is but a wilderness, and even in this sense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity

A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness and swellings of the heart, which passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know diseases of stoppings 30 and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body, and it is not much otherwise in the mind, you may take sarza to open the liver, steel to open the spleen, flower of sulphur for the lungs, castoreum for the brain, but no receipt openeth the heart, but a true friend, to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift or confession

It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of friendship 40 whereof we speak so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness. For princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some persons to be as it were companions and almost equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to inconvenience. The modern languages give unto such persons the name of favourites, or privadoes, as if it were matter of grace, or conversation. But the Roman name attaineth the true use and cause 50 thereof, naming them *Participes curarum*, [*Sharers of their cares*,] for it is that which tieth the knot. And we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate princes only, but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned, who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants, whom both themselves have called friends,

and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner, using the word which is received between private men

L Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (after
60 surnamed the Great) to that height, that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's over-match For when he had carried the consulship for a friend of his, against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet, *for that more men adored the sun rising than the sun setting* With Julius Cæsar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that interest, as he set him down in his testament for heir in remainder after his nephew And this was the man that had power with him to draw him forth to his
70 death For when Cæsar would have discharged the senate, in regard of some ill presages, and specially a dream of Calpurnia, this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him he hoped he would not dismiss the senate till his wife had dreamt a better dream And it seemeth his favour was so great, as Antonius, in a letter which he recited *verbatim* in one of Cicero's Philippics, called him *venefica, witch*, as if he had enchanted Cæsar Augustus raised Agrippa (though of mean birth) to that height, as when he consulted with Mæcenus about the marriage of his
80 daughter Julia, Mæcenus took the liberty to tell him, *that he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life there was no third way, he had made him so great* With Tiberius Cæsar, Sejanus had ascended to that height, as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends Tiberius in a letter to him saith, *hæc pro amicitia nostra non occultavi, [in consideration of our friendship I have not hidden these things from you.]* and the whole senate dedicated an altar to Friendship, as to a goddess, in respect of the great dearth of friendship between them two The like or more was
90 between Septimius Severus and Plautianus For he forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plautianus, and would often maintain Plautianus in doing affronts to his

son, and did write also in a letter to the senate, by these words *I love the man so well, as I wish he may over-live me*. Now if these princes had been as a Trajan or a Marcus Aurelius, a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature, but being men so wise, of such strength and severity of mind, and so extreme lovers of themselves, as all these were, it proveth most plainly that they found their own felicity (though as great as ever hap- 100
pened to mortal men) but as an half piece, except they might have a friend to make it entire, and yet, which is more, they were princes that had wives, sons, nephews, and yet all these could not supply the comfort of friendship.

It is not to be forgotten what Comineus observeth of his first master, Duke Charles the Hardy, namely, that he would communicate his secrets with none, and least of all, those secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on and saith that towards his latter time *that closeness*
did impair and a little perish his understanding. Surely 110
Comineus might have made the same judgment also, if it had pleased him, of his second master, Louis the Eleventh, whose closeness was indeed his tormentor. The parable of Pythagoras is dark, but true, *Cor ne edito, Est not the heart*. Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts. But one thing is most admirable (wherewith I will conclude this first fruit of friendship), which is, that this communicating of a man's self to his friend works two contrary effects, for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs. 120
For there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend, but he joyeth the more: and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is in truth of operation upon a man's mind, of like virtue as the alchymists use to attribute to their stone for man's recovery that it worketh all contrary effects but still to the good and benefit of nature. But yet without private aid of alchymists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course

of virtue For in bodies, union strengtheneth and cherisheth
 130 any natural action, and on the other side weakeneth and
 dulleth any violent impression and even so it is of minds.

The second fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign
 for the understanding, as the first is for the affections For
 friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections, from
 storm and tempests, but it maketh daylight in the under-
 standing, out of darkness and confusion of thoughts Neither
 is this to be understood only of faithful counsel, which a man
 receiveth from his friend, but before you come to that,
 certain it is that who-soever hath his mind fraught with
 140 many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and
 break up, in the communicating and discoursing with
 another he tosseth his thoughts more easily, he mar-
 shalleth them more orderly, he seeth how they look when
 they are turned into words finally, he waxeth wiser than
 himself, and that more by an hour's discourse than by a
 day's meditation It was well said by Themistocles to the
 king of Persia, *That speech was like cloth of Arras, opened and*
put abroad, whereby the imagery doth appear in figure,
whereas in thoughts they lie but as in packs Neither is this
 150 second fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding,
 restrained only to such friends as are able to give a man
 counsel, (they indeed are best,) but even without that, a
 man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to
 light, and whetteth his wits as against a stone, which itself
 cuts not In a word, a man were better relate himself to a
 statua or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in
 smother

Add now, to make this second fruit of friendship complete,
 that other point which lieth more open and falleth within
 160 vulgar observation, which is faithful counsel from a friend
 Heraclitus saith well in one of his enigmas, *Dry light is ever*
the best And certain it is, that the light that a man re-
 ceiveth by counsel from another, is drier and purer than that
 which cometh from his own understanding and judgment,

which is even infused and drenched in his affections and customs. So as there is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer. For there is no such flatterer as is a man's self, and there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self as the liberty 170 of a friend. Counsel is of two sorts, the one concerning manners, the other concerning business. For the first, the best preservative to keep the mind in health is the faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's self to a strict account is a medicine, sometime, too piercing and corrosive. Reading 'good books of morality is a little flat and dead. Observing our faults in others is sometimes improper for our case. But the best receipt (best, I say, to work, and best to take) is the admonition of a friend. It is a strange thing to behold what gross errors and extreme absurdities 180 many (especially of the greater sort) do commit, for want of a friend to tell them of them, to the great damage both of their fame and fortune for, as St James saith, they are as men, *that look sometimes into a glass, and presently forget their own shape and favour*. As for business, a man may think, if he will, that two eyes see no more than one, or that a gamester seeth always more than a looker-on, or that a man in anger is as wise as he that hath said over the four and twenty letters, or that a musket may be shot off as well upon the arm as upon a rest, and such other fond and high 190 imaginations, to think himself all in all. But when all is done, the help of good counsel is that which setteth business straight. And if any man think that he will take counsel, but it shall be by pieces, asking counsel in one business of one man, and in another business of another man, it is well, (that is to say, better perhaps than if he asked none at all,) but he runneth two dangers; one, that he shall not be faithfully counselled, for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that 200

giveth it The other, that he shall have counsel given, hurtful and unsafe, (though with good meaning,) and mixed partly of mischief and partly of remedy, even as if you would call a physician that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body, and therefore may put you in way for a present cure, but overthroweth your health in some other kind, and so cure the disease and kill the patient But a friend that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate will beware, by furthering any present business, how he dasheth upon other inconvenience And therefore rest not upon scattered counsels, they will rather distract and mislead, than settle and direct

After these two noble fruits of friendship, (peace in the affections, and support of the judgment,) followeth the last fruit, which is like the pomegranate, full of many kernels, I mean aid and bearing a part in all actions and occasions Here the best way to represent to life the manifold use of friendship, is to cast and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself, and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients, to say, *that a friend is another himself*, for that a friend is far more than himself Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things which they principally take to heart, the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like If a man have a true friend, he may rest almost secure that the cure of those things will continue after him So that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his desires A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place, but where friendship is, all offices of life are as it were granted to him and his deputy For he may exercise them by his friend How many things are there which a man cannot, with any face or comeliness say or do himself? A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them, a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate or beg, and a number of the like For all these things are graceful in a friend's

mouth, which are blushing in a man's own So again, a man's person hath many proper relations which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his son but as a father, to his wife but as a husband, to his enemy but upon terms 240 whereas a friend may speak as the case requies, and not as it sorteth with the person. But to enumerate these things were endless, I have given the rule, where a man cannot fitly play his own part, if he have not a friend, he may quit the stage.

XXVIII. OF EXPENSE

RICHES are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions. Therefore extraordinary expense must be limited by the worth of the occasion, for voluntary undoing may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of heaven. But ordinary expense ought to be limited by a man's estate, and governed with such regard, as it be within his compass, and not subject to deceit and abuse of servants, and ordered to the best show, that the bills may be less than the estimation abroad. Certainly, if a man will keep but of even hand, his ordinary expenses ought to be but to the half of his receipts, and if he think to wax rich, but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own estate. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into melancholy, in respect they shall find it broken. But wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look into his own estate at all, had need both choose well those whom he employeth, and change them often, for new are more timorous and less subtle. He that can look into his estate but seldom, it becometh him to turn all to certainties. A man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of expense, to be as saving again in some other. As if he be plentiful in diet, to be saving in apparel, if he be plentiful in the hall, to be saving in the

XXIX OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES

THE speech of Themistocles the Athenian, who was haughty and arrogant in taking so much to himself, had been a grave and wise observation and censure, applied at large to others. Desir'd at a first to touch a lute, he said, *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city.* These words (helpen a little with a metaphor) may express two differing abilities in those that deal in business of estate. For if a true survey be taken of counsellors and statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a
10 small state great, and yet cannot fiddle—as on the other side, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly—but yet are so far from being able to make a small state great, as then gift both the other way, to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay. And, certainly, those degenerate arts and shifts, whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling,

being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the state which they serve. There are also (no doubt) 20 counsellors and governors which may be held sufficient *negotius pares*, able to manage affairs, and to keep them from precipices and manifest inconveniences, which nevertheless are far from the ability to raise and amplify an estate in power, means, and fortune. But be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work, that is, the true greatness of kingdoms and estates, and the means thereof. An argument fit for great and mighty princes to have in their hand, to the end that neither by over-measuring their forces, they leese themselves in vain enterprises, nor on the other side, by 30 undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels.

The greatness of an estate, in bulk and territory, doth fall under measure, and the greatness of finances and revenue doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters, and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps. But yet there is not anything amongst civil affairs more subject to error, than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of an estate. The kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great 40 kernel or nut, but to a grain of mustard seed, which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there states great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command, and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt to be the foundations of great monarchies.

Walled towns, stored arsenals and armouries, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like, all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike 50 Nay, number (itself) in armies importeth not much, where the people is of weak courage, for (as Virgil saith) *It never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be*. The army of the

Persians in the plains of Arbela was such a vast sea of people, as it did somewhat astonish the commanders in Alexander's army, who came to him therefore, and wished him to set upon them by night, but he answered, *He would not pilfer the victory*. And the defeat was easy. When Tigranes the Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred
 60 thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it and said, *Yonder men are too many for an ambassage and too few for a fight*. But, before the sun set, he found them enow to give him the chase with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage so that a man may truly make a judgement, that the principal point of greatness in any state is to have a race of military men. Neither is money the sinews of war (as it is trivially said), where the sinews of men's arms,
 70 in wise and effeminate people, are failing. For Solon said well to Cræsus (when in ostentation he shewed him his gold), *Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold*. Therefore let any prince or state think soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and valiant soldiers. And let princes, on the other side, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength, unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces (which is the help in this case), all
 80 examples show that whatsoever estate or prince doth rest upon them, *he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after*.

The blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet, *that the same people or nation should be both the lion's whelp and the ass between burthens*. neither will it be, that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true that taxes levied by consent of the estate do abate men's courage less as it hath been seen notably in the excises of the Low Countries, and, in some degree, in the subsidies of England. For you must note that we speak now of the heart

and not of the purse So that although the same tribute and 90
tax, laid by consent or by imposing, be all one to the purse,
yet it works diversely upon the courage So that you may
conclude, *that no people over-charged with tribute is fit for
empire*

Let states that aim at greatness, take heed how their
nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast. For that maketh
the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain,
driven out of heart, and in effect but the gentlemen's labourer
Even as you may see in coppice woods, if you leave your
staddles too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but 100
shrubs and bushes So in countries, if the gentlemen be too
many, the commons will be base, and you will bring it to
that, that not the hundredth poll will be fit for an helmet,
especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army,
and so there will be great population and little strength.
This which I speak of hath been no where better seen than
by comparing of England and France, whereof England,
though far less in territory and population, hath been
(nevertheless) an over-match, in regard the middle people
of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France 110
do not And herein the device of King Henry the Seventh
(whereof I have spoken largely in the history of his life) was
profound and admirable, in making farms and houses of
husbandry of a standard, that is, maintained with such a
proportion of land unto them, as may breed a subject to live
in convenient plenty and no servile condition, and to keep
the plough in the hands of the owners, and not mere hire-
lings And thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character
which he gives to ancient Italy

Terra potens armis atque ubere glebæ

120

[*A land powerful in arms, and with a fertile soil*] Neither is
that state (which, for any thing I know, is almost peculiar to
England, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be
perhaps in Poland) to be passed over, I mean the state of
free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen,

which are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms
 And therefore, out of all question, the splendour and mag-
 nificence and great retinues and hospitality of noblemen and
 gentlemen, received into custom, doth much conduce unto
 130 martial greatness Whereas, contrariwise, the close and
 reserved living of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury
 of military forces

By all means it is to be procured, that the trunk of Nebu-
 chadnezzar's tree of monarchy be great enough to bear the
 branches and the boughs, that is, that the natural subjects
 of the crown or state bear a sufficient proportion to the
 stranger subjects that they govern Therefore all states
 that are liberal of naturalization towards strangers are fit
 for empire For to think that an handful of people can,
 140 with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace
 too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time, but it
 will fail suddenly The Spartans were a nice people in point
 of naturalization, whereby, while they kept their compass,
 they stood firm, but when they did spread, and their
 boughs were becomen too great for their stem, they became
 a windfall upon the sudden Never any state was in this
 point so open to receive strangers into their body as were
 the Romans Therefore it sorted with them accordingly,
 for they grew to the greatest monarchy Their manner was
 150 to grant naturalization (which they called *jus civitatis* [*rights*
of citizenship]), and to grant it in the highest degree, that
 is, not only *jus commercii*, *jus connubii*, *jus hereditatis* [*right*
of trading, right of marriage, right of inheritance], but also
jus suffragii and *jus honorum* [*right of voting and right of*
holding office] And this not to singular persons alone, but
 likewise to whole families, yea to cities, and sometimes to
 nations Add to this their custom of plantation of colonies,
 whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other
 nations And putting both constitutions together, you will
 160 say that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world,
 but it was the world that spread upon the Romans, and that

was the sure way of greatness I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards, but sure the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree, far above Rome and Sparta at the first And besides, though they have not had that usage to naturalize liberally, yet they have that which is next to it, that is, to employ almost indifferently all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers, yea, and sometimes in their highest commands Nay it seemeth at this 170 instant they are sensible of this want of natives, as by the Pragmatical Sanction, now published, appeareth

It is certain, that sedentary and within-door arts, and delicate manufactures (that require rather the finger than the arm), have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition And generally, all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail Neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour Therefore it was great advantage in the ancient states of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had 180 the use of slaves, which commonly did rid those manufactures But that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian law That which cometh nearest to it, is to leave those arts chiefly to strangers (which for that purpose are the more easily to be received), and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds,—tillers of the ground, free servants, and handicraftsmen of strong and manly arts, as smiths, masons, carpenters, etc not reckoning professed soldiers

But above all, for empire and greatness, it importeth most, 190 that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study, and occupation For the things which we formerly have spoken of are but habilitations towards arms, and what is habilitation without intention and act? Romulus, after his death (as they report or feign), sent a present to the Romans, that above all they should intend arms, and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world The

fabric of the state of Sparta was wholly (though not
 wisely) framed and composed to that scope and end The
 200 Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash The Gauls,
 Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a
 time The Turks have it at this day, though in great
 declination Of Christian Europe, they that have it are, in
 effect, only the Spaniards But it is so plain, *that every man*
profiteth in that he most intendeth, that it needeth not to be
 stood upon It is enough to point at it, that no nation
 which doth not directly profess arms, may look to have
 greatness fall into their mouths And on the other side,
 it is a most certain oracle of time, that those states that
 210 continue long in that profession (as the Romans and
 Turks principally have done) do wonders And those that
 have professed arms but for an age, have notwithstanding
 commonly attained that greatness in that age which main-
 tained them long after, when their profession and exercise of
 arms hath grown to decay

Incident to this point is, for a state to have those laws or
 customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions (as
 may be pretended) of war For there is that justice im-
 printed in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars
 220 (whereof so many calamities do ensue) but upon some, at the
 least specious, grounds and quarrels The Turk hath at
 hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect, a
 quarrel that he may always command The Romans, though
 they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be
 great honour to their generals when it was done, yet they
 never rested upon that alone to begin a war First therefore,
 let nations that pretend to greatness have this, that they be
 sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or
 politic ministers, and that they sit not too long upon a pro-
 230 vocation Secondly, let them be prest and ready to give aid
 and succours to their confederates, as it ever was with the
 Romans, insomuch, as if the confederates had leagues defen-
 sive with divers other states, and, upon invasion offered, did

implore their aids severally, yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of party, or tacit conformity of estate, I do not see how they may be well justified as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Græcia, or when the Lacedæmonians and Athenians made wars to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies, or when wars were made by foreigners, under the pretence of justice or protection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression and the like. Let it suffice, that no estate expect to be great, that is not awake upon any just occasion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic, and certainly to a kingdom or estate, a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war indeed is like the heat of a fever, but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise and serveth to keep the body in health, for in a slothful peace, both courages will effeminate and manners corrupt. But howsoever it be for happiness without all question, for greatness it maketh, to be still for the most part in arms; and the strength of the veteran army, though it be a chargeable business, always on foot, is that which commonly giveth the law, or at least the reputation, amongst all neighbour states, as may well be seen in Spain, which hath had, in one part or other, a veteran army almost continually, now by the space of six score years.

To be master of the sea is an abridgment of a monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus of Pompey his preparation against Cesar, saith, *Constituta Pompei jura Thémistoclis erant; potestatem, quæ cum potestate, cum rebus paratæ*, [*The policy of Pompey is like that of Themistocles. He stands it as power as with him who commands the sea*], and, without doubt Pompey had tired out Cesar, if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We see the great effects of latitude by sea. The battle of Actium decided the empire of the world. The battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk. There

270 be many examples where sea-fights have been final to the war, but this is when princes or states have set up their rest upon the battles. But thus much is certain, that he that commands the sea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will. Whereas those that be strongest by land are many times nevertheless in great straits. Surely, at this day, with us of Europe, the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great, both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt
 280 with the sea most part of their compass, and because the wealth of both Indies seems in great part but an accessory to the command of the seas.

The wars of latter ages seem to be made in the dark, in respect of the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now, for martial encouragement, some degrees and orders of chivalry, which nevertheless are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers and no soldiers, and some remembrance perhaps upon the scutcheon, and some hospitals for maimed soldiers, and such
 290 like things. But in ancient times, the trophies erected upon the place of the victory, the funeral ludiatives and monuments for those that died in the wars, the crowns and garlands personal, the style of Emperor, which the great kings of the world after borrowed, the triumphs of the generals upon their return, the great donatives and largesses upon the disbanding of the armies, were things able to inflame all men's courages. But above all, that of the triumph, amongst the Romans, was not pageants or gaudery, but one of the wisest and noblest institutions that ever was
 300 For it contained three things, honour to the general, riches to the treasury out of the spoils, and donatives to the army. But that honour perhaps were not fit for monarchies except it be in the person of the monarch himself, or his sons, as it came to pass in the times of the Roman emperors, who did it improper the actual triumphs to themselves and their

sons, for such wars as they did achieve in person, and left only, for wars achieved by subjects, some triumphal garments and ensigns to the general

To conclude no man can by *care taking* (as the Scripture saith) *add a cubit to his stature*, in this little model of a man's 310 body, but in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is in the power of princes or estates to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms, for by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as we have now touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession. But these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance

XXX. OF REGIMENT OF HEALTH

THERE is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of physic a man's own observation, what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best physic to preserve health. But it is a safer conclusion to say, *This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it*, than this, *I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it*. For strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses, which are owing a man till his age. Discern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the same things still, for age will not be defied. Beware of sudden change in any great point of diet, and if necessity 10 enforce it, fit the rest to it. For it is a secret both in nature and state, that it is safer to change many things than one. Examine thy customs of diet, sleep, exercise, apparel, and the like, and try, in any thing thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little, but so, as if thou dost find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again for it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome, from that which is good particularly, and fit for thine own body. To be free-minded and cheerfully disposed at hours of meat and of sleep and of exercise, is one of 20

XXXI OF SUSPICION

SUSPICIONS amongst thoughts are like bats amongst birds, they ever fly by twilight. Certainly they are to be repressed, or at the least well guarded for they cloud the mind, they lease friends, and they check with business, whereby business cannot go on currently and constantly. They dispose kings to tyranny, husbands to jealousy, wise men to irresolution and melancholy. They are defects, not in the heart, but in the brain, for they take place in the stoutest natures, as in the example of Henry the Seventh of England. There was not a more suspicious man, nor a more stout. And in 10 such a composition they do small hurt. For commonly they are not admitted, but with examination, whether they be likely or no. But in fearful natures they gain ground too fast. There is nothing makes a man suspect much, more than to know little, and therefore men should remedy suspicion by procuring to know more, and not to keep them suspicious in smother. What would men have? Do they think those they employ and deal with are sunts? Do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themselves than to them? Therefore there is no better way to moderate 20 suspicions, than to account upon such suspicions as true, and yet to bridle them as false. For so far a man ought to make use of suspicions, as to provide, as if that should be true that he suspects, yet it may do him no hurt. Suspicions that the mind of itself gathers are but buzzes, but suspicions that are artificially nourished, and put into mens heads by the tales and whisperings of others, have stings. Certainly, the best mean to clear the way in this same wood of suspicions, is frankly to communicate them with the party that he suspects. For thereby he shall be sure to 30 know more of the truth of them than he did before, and withal shall make that party more circumspect not to give further cause of suspicion. But this would not be done to

apply his questions to the skill of the persons whom he asketh, for he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledge 30
 But let his questions not be troublesome, for that is fit for a poser. And let him be sure to leave other men their turns to speak. Nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and to bring others on, as musicians use to do with those that dance too long galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought another time to know that you know not. Speech of a man's self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew one was wont to say in scorn, *He must needs be a wise man, he 40 speaks so much of himself* and there is but one case wherein a man may commend himself with good grace, and that is in commending virtue in another, especially if it be such a virtue whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of touch towards others should be sparingly used, for discourse ought to be as a field, without coming home to any man. I knew two noblemen, of the west part of England, whereof the one was given to scoff, but kept ever royal cheer in his house, the other would ask of those that had been at the other's table, *Tell truly, was there never a flout or dry blow 50 given?* To which the guest would answer, *Such and such a thing passed*. The lord would say, *I thought he would mar a good dinner*. Discretion of speech is more than eloquence, and to speak agreeably to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good words or in good order. A good continued speech, without a good speech of interlocution, shows slowness, and a good reply or second speech, without a good settled speech, sheweth shallowness and weakness. As we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course, are yet nimblest in the turn, as it is betwixt the 60 greyhound and the hare. To use too many circumstances ere one come to the matter, is wearisome, to use none at all, is blunt.

meat as well as for bread And of rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat Above all, there ought to be brought store of biscuit, oat-meal, flour, meal, and the like, in the beginning, till bread may be had For beasts, or birds, take chiefly such as are least subject to diseases, and multiply fastest, as swine, goats, cocks, hens, turkeys, geese, house-doves, and the like The victual in 40 plantations ought to be expended almost as in a besieged town, that is, with certain allowance And let the main part of the ground employed to gardens or corn be to a common stock, and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in proportion, besides some spots of ground that any particular person will manure for his own private Consider likewise what commodities the soil where the plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the plantation, (so it be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business,) as it hath fared 50 with tobacco in Virginia Wood commonly aboundeth but too much, and therefore timber is fit to be one If there be iron ore, and streams whereupon to set the mills, iron is a brave commodity where wood aboundeth Making of bay-salt, if the climate be proper for it, would be put in experience Growing silk likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity Pitch and tar, where store of firs and pines are, will not fail So drugs and sweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit Soap-ashes likewise, and other things that may be thought of But moil not too much under 60 ground, for the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the planters lazy in other things For government, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some counsel, and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation And above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as they have God always, and his service, before their eyes Let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number, and

70 let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen, than merchants ,
 for they look ever to the present gain Let there be freedoms
 from custom, till the plantation be of strength , and not only
 freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities
 where they may make their best of them, except there be
 some special cause of caution Cram not in people, by send-
 ing too fast company after company , but rather hearken
 how they waste, and send supplies proportionably , but so as
 the number may live well in the plantation, and not by sur-
 charge be in penury It hath been a great endangering to
 80 the health of some plantations, that they have built along the
 sea and rivers, in marish and unwholesome grounds. There-
 fore, though you begin there, to avoid carriage and other like
 discommodities, yet build still rather upwards from the streams
 than along It concerneth likewise the health of the planta-
 tion that they have good store of salt with them, that they may
 use it in their victuals when it shall be necessary If you
 plant where savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles
 and gingles, but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient
 guard nevertheless , and do not win their favour by helping
 90 them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not
 unmiss , and send oft of them over to the country that plants,
 that they may see a better condition than their own, and
 commend it when they return When the plantation grows
 to strength, then it is time to plant with women as well as
 with men , that the plantation may spread into generations,
 and not be ever pieced from without It is the sunfullest
 thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once
 in forwardness , for besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness
 of blood of many commiserable persons.

XXXIV OF RICHES

I CANNOT call Riches better than the baggage of virtue. The
 Roman word is better, *impedimenta* For as the baggage is
 to an army, so is riches to virtue It cannot be spared nor

left behind, but it hindereth the march, yea and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory. Of great riches there is no real use except it be in the distribution, the rest is but conceit. So saith Salomon, *Where much is, there are many to consume it; and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes?* The personal fruition in any man cannot reach to feel great riches: there is a custody of them, or a power 10 of dole and donative of them; or a fame of them, but no solid use to the owner. Do you not see what feigned prices are set upon little stones and rarities? and what works of ostentation are undertaken, because there might seem to be some use of great riches? But then you will say, they may be of use to buy men out of dangers or troubles. As Salomon saith, *Riches are as a stronghold, in the imagination of the rich man.* But this is excellently expressed that it is in imagination, and not always in fact. For certainly great riches have sold more men than they have bought out. Seek not proud 20 riches, but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly. Yet have no abstract or friarly contempt of them. But distinguish, as Cicero saith well of Rabirius Posthumus, *In studio rei amplificandæ, apparebat, non avaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum bonitati quæræ.* [*In his zeal to increase his estate it was evident that he was seeking not a prey for avarice, but a means of doing good*] Harken also to Salomon, and beware of hasty gathering of riches; *Qui festinat ad divitias, non erit insons* [*He that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent*]. The poets feign, 30 that when Plutus (which is Riches) is sent from Jupiter, he limps and goes slowly, but when he is sent from Pluto, he runs and is swift of foot. Meaning that riches gotten by good means and just labour pace slowly, but when they come by the death of others (as by the course of inheritance, testaments, and the like), they come tumbling upon a man. But it might be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the devil. For when riches come from the devil (as by fraud and oppression and unjust means), they come upon speed

40 The ways to enrich are many, and most of them foul Parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not innocent, for it withholdeth men from works of liberality and charity The improvement of the ground is the most natural obtaining of riches, for it is our great mother's blessing, the earth's, but it is slow And yet where men of great wealth do stoop to husbandry, it multiplieth riches exceedingly I knew a nobleman in England, that had the greatest audits of any man in my time, a great grazier, a great sheep master, a great timber man, a great collier, a great corn-master, a
50 great lead man, and so of iron, and a number of the like points of husbandry So as the earth seemed a sea to him in respect of the perpetual importation It was truly observed by one, that himself came very hardly to a little riches, and very easily to great riches For when a man's stock is come to that, that he can expect the prime of markets, and overcome those bargains which for their greatness are few men's money, and be partner in the industries of younger men, he cannot but increase mainly The gains of ordinary trades and vocations are honest, and furthered
60 by two things chiefly, by diligence, and by a good name for good and fair dealing But the gains of bargains are of a more doubtful nature, when men shall wait upon others' necessity, broke by servants and instruments to draw them on, put off others cunningly that would be better chapmen, and the like practices, which are crafty and naught As for the chopping of bargains, when a man buys not to hold but to sell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the seller and upon the buyer Sharings do greatly enrich, if the hands be well chosen that are trusted Usury
70 is the certainest means of gain, though one of the worst, as that whereby a man doth eat his bread *in sudore vultus alieni*, [*in the sweat of another's face*,] and besides, doth plough upon Sundays But yet certain though it be, it hath flaws, for that the scriveners and brokers do value unsound men to serve their own turn The fortune in being the first

in all invention as in a parable, doth ever sometimes a
wonderful overgrown in riches, as it was with the first
mighty man in the Canaanites. Therefore if a man can play the
true logician, to have us well judge it as unwise in him
to do great matters, especially if the time be fit. He that
resteth upon present riches, shall hardly grow to great riches
and he that puts all upon adventures, doth oftentimes breed
and come to poverty. It is good therefore to guard ourselves
with certainties, that may uphold us. Monopolies and
compulsion of wares for sale, where they are not restrained,
are great means to enrich, especially if the party have
intelligence what things are like to come into request, and
to store himself beforehand. Riches gotten by service,
though it be of the best rate, yet when they are gotten by
flattery, feeding humours, and other servile conditions, they
may be placed amongst the worst. As for fishing for testa-
ments and executorships (as Facius saith of Seneca, *testa-
menta et orbem tanquam indagine capis, [the wills of the children
were, so to say, caught in a snare.]*) it is yet worse, by how
much men submit themselves to meaner persons than in
service. Believe not much them that seem to despise riches,
for they despise them that despair of them. And none worse
when they come to them. Be not penny wise, riches have
wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves sometimes
they must be sent flying to bring in more. Men leave their
riches either to their kindred, or to the public, and moderate
portions prosper best in both. A great state left to an heir,
is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to seize on
him, if he be not the better stablished in years and judgment.
Take wise glorious gifts and foundations are like sacrifices
without salt, and but the painted sepulchres of alms which
soon will putrefy and corrupt inwardly. Therefore measure
not thine advancements by quantity, but frame them by
measure and defer not charities till death, for, certainly,
if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberal of
another's wealth than of his own.

XXXV OF PROPHECIES

I MEAN not to speak of divine prophecies, nor of heathen oracles, nor of natural predictions, but only of prophecies that have been of certain memory, and from hidden causes. Saith the Pythonissa to Saul, *To-morrow thou and thy sons shall be with me*. Homer hath these verses

At domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,

Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis

[*The house of Æneas shall rule over every land,*

10 *And his children's children, and those who shall be born of them*]

A prophecy, as it seems, of the Roman empire. Seneca the tragedian hath these verses

——— Venient annis

Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus

Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens

Pateat tellus, Tiphysque novos

Detegat orbes, nec sit teris

Ultima Thule

[*Ocean in years to come shall loose her bands,*

20 *The vast earth be disclosed, and Tiphys show*

New worlds, nor Thule be the farthest bound]

a prophecy of the discovery of America. The daughter of Polykrates dreamed that Jupiter bathed her father, and Apollo anointed him, and it came to pass that he was crucified in an open place, where the sun made his body run with sweat, and the rain washed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed he sealed up his wife's belly, whereby he did expound it, that his wife should be barren, but Aristander the soothsayer told him his wife was with child, because

30 men do not use to seal up vessels that are empty. A phantasm that appeared to M. Brutus in his tent, said to him, *Philippis iterum me videbis* [*Thou shalt see me again at Philippi*]. Tiberius said to Galba, *Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis imperium* [*Thou too, Galba, shalt taste of empire*]

In Vespasian's time, there went a prophecy in the East, that those that should come forth of Judea should reign over the world which though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian Domitian dreamed, the night before he was slain, that a golden head was growing out of the nape of his neck and indeed the succe-⁴⁰
sion that followed him, for many years, made golden times Henry the Sixth of England said of Henry the Seventh, when he was a lad, and gave him water, *This is the lad that shall enjoy the crown for which we strive* When I was in France, I heard from one Dr Pena, that the Queen Mother, who was given to curious arts, caused the King her husband's nativity to be calculated, under a false name, and the astrologer gave a judgment, that he should be killed in a duel, at which the queen laughed, thinking her husband to be above challenges and duels but he was slain upon a⁵⁰
course at tilt, the splinters of the staff of Montgomery going in at his beaver The trivial prophecy which I heard when I was a child, and Queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years, was,

When hempe is sponne
England's done

whereby it was generally conceived, that after the princes had reigned which had the principal letters of that word *hempe* (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth), England should come to utter confusion, which,⁶⁰
thanks be to God, is verified only in the change of the name, for that the King's style is now no more of England, but of Britan There was also another prophecy, before the year of eighty-eight, which I do not well understand

There shall be seen upon a day,
Between the Baugh and the May,
The black fleet of Norway
When that that is come and gone,
England build houses of lime and stone,
For after wars shall you have none.

It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spanish fleet that came in eighty eight for that the king of Spain's surname, as they say, is Norway The prediction of Regiomontanus,

Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus,

[*The eighty-eighth year shall be remarkable*]

was thought likewise accomplished in the sending of that great fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in number, of all that ever swam upon the sea As for Cleon's
80 dream, I think it was a jest It was, that he was devoured of a long dragon, and it was expounded of a maker of sausages, that troubled him exceedingly There are numbers of the like kind, especially if you include dreams, and predictions of astrology But I have set down these few only of certain credit, for example My judgment is, that they ought all to be despised, and ought to serve but for winter talk by the fireside Though when I say *despised*, I mean it as for belief, for otherwise, the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be despised For they have done much
90 mischief, and I see many severe laws made to suppress them That that hath given them grace, and some credit, consisteth in three things First, that men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss, as they do generally also of dreams The second is, that probable conjectures, or obscure traditions, many times turn themselves into prophecies, while the nature of man, which coveteth divination, thinks it no peril to foretell that which indeed they do but collect. As that of Seneca's verse For so much was then subject to demonstration, that the globe of the earth had great parts
100 beyond the Atlantic, which mought be probably conceived not to be all sea and adding thereto the tradition in Plato's Timæus, and his Atlantis, it mought encourage one to turn it to a prediction The third and last (which is the great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been impostures, and by idle and crafty brains merely contrived and feigned after the event passed.

XXXVI. OF AMBITION

AMBITION is like cholera, which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of dacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot have his way, it becometh adust, and thereby malign and venomous. So ambitious men, if they find the way open for their rising, and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous, but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye, and are best pleased when things go backward, which is the worst property in a servant of a prince or state. Therefore 10 it is good for princes, if they use ambitious men, to handle it so as they be still progressive and not retrograde, which because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such natures at all. For if they rise not with their service, they will take order to make their service fall with them. But since we have said it were good not to use men of ambitious natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak in what cases they are of necessity. Good commanders in the wars must be taken, be they never so ambitious, for the use of their service dispenseth with the rest, and to 20 take a soldier without ambition is to pull off his spurs. There is also great use of ambitious men in being screens to princes in matters of danger and envy, for no man will take that part, except he be like a seeled dove, that mounts and mounts because he cannot see about him. There is use also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops, as Tiberius used Macro in the pulling down of Sejanus. Since therefore they must be used in such cases, there resteth to speak how they are to be bridled, that they may be less dangerous. There is less danger of 30 them if they be of mean birth, than if they be noble, and if they be rather harsh of nature, than gracious and popular, and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning and

fortified in their greatness It is counted by some a weakness in princes to have favourites, but it is of all others the best remedy against ambitious great-ones For when the way of pleasuring and displeasuring lieth by the favourite, it is impossible any other should be over-great Another means to curb them, is to balance them by others as proud
40 as they But then there must be some middle counsellors, to keep things steady, for without that ballast the ship will roll too much At the least, a prince may animate and inure some meaner persons, to be as it were scourges to ambitious men As for the having of them obnoxious to ruin, if they be of fearful natures, it may do well, but if they be stout and daring, it may precipitate their designs, and prove dangerous As for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way is, the interchange continually
50 of favours and disgraces, whereby they may not know what to expect, and be as it were in a wood Of ambitions, it is less harmful, the ambition to prevail in great things, than that other to appear in every thing, for that breeds confusion, and mars business But yet it is less danger to have an ambitious man stirring in business, than great in dependences He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men hath a great task, but that is ever good for the public But he that plots to be the only figure amongst cyphers is the decay of a whole age Honour hath three things in it,
60 the vantage ground to do good, the approach to kings and principal persons, and the raising of a man's own fortunes He that hath the best of these intentions, when he aspireth, is an honest man, and that prince that can discern of these intentions in another that aspireth, is a wise prince Generally, let princes and states choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than of rising, and such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery, and let them discern a busy nature from a willing mind

XXXVII OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS

THESE things are but toys, to come amongst such serious observations But yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegancy than daubed with cost Dancing to song, is a thing of great state and pleasure I understand it, that the song be in quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken music, and the ditty fitted to the device Acting in song, especially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace, I say acting, not dancing (for that is a mean and vulgar thing), and the voices of the dialogue would be strong and manly, (a base 10 and a tenor, no treble,) and the ditty high and tragical, not nice or drunty Several quires, placed one over against another, and taking the voice by catches, anthem-wise, give great pleasure Turning dances into figure is a childish curiosity And generally let it be noted, that those things which I here set down are such as do naturally take the sense, and not respect petty wonderments It is true, the alterations of scenes, so it be quietly and without noise, are things of great beauty and pleasure, for they feed and relieve the eye, before it be full of the same object Let the 20 scenes abound with light, especially coloured and varied, and let the masquers, or any other, that are to come down from the scene, have some motions upon the scene itself before their coming down, for it draws the eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that it cannot perfectly discern Let the songs be loud and cheerful, and not chirpings or pulings Let the music likewise be sharp and loud, and well placed The colours that show best by candle-light, are white, carnation, and a kind of sea-water-green, and oes, or spangs, as they are of no great cost, 30 so they are of most glory As for rich embroidery, it is lost and not discerned Let the suits of the masquers be graceful, and such as become the person when the vizards are off, not

after examples of known attires, Turks, soldiers, mariners, and the like. Let anti-masques not be long, they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild-men, anties, beasts, sprites, witches, Ethiopes, pigmies, turquets, nymphs, rustics, Cupids, statuas moving, and the like. As for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in anti-masques, and any
 40 thing that is hideous, as devils, giants, is on the other side as unfit. But chiefly, let the music of them be recreative, and with some strange changes. Some sweet odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a company as there is steam and heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment. Double masques, one of men, another of ladies, addeth state and variety. But all is nothing except the room be kept clear and neat.

For jousts, and tourneys, and barriers, the glories of them are chiefly in the chariots, wherein the challengers make their
 50 entry, especially if they be drawn with strange beasts as lions, bears, camels, and the like, or in the devices of their entrance, or in the bravery of their liveries, or in the goodly furniture of their horses and armour. But enough of these toys.

XXXVIII OF NATURE IN MEN

NATURE is often hidden, sometimes overcome, seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the return, doctrine and discourse maketh nature less importune, but custom only doth alter and subdue nature. He that seeketh victory over his nature, let him not set himself too great nor too small tasks, for the first will make him dejected by often failings, and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often prevailings. And at the first let him practise with helps, as swimmers do with bladders or rushes, but
 10 after a time let him practise with disadvantages, as dancers do with thick shoes. For it breedeth great perfection, if the

practice be harder than the use Where nature is mighty, and therefore the victory hard, the degrees had need be, first to stay and arrest nature in time, like to him that would say over the four and twenty letters when he was angry, then to go less in quantity, as if one should, in forbearing wine, come from drinking healths to a draught at a meal, and lastly, to discontinue altogether But if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best

20

Optimus ille animi vindex lædentia pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel

[*Wouldst thou be free? The chains that gall thy breast
With one strong effort burst, and be at rest*]

Neither is the ancient rule amiss, to bend nature as a wand to a contrary extreme, whereby to set it right, understanding it, where the contrary extreme is no vice Let not a man force a habit upon himself with a perpetual continuance, but with some intermission For both the pause reinforceth the new onset, and if a man that is not perfect be ever in 30 practice, he shall as well practise his errors as his abilities, and induce one habit of both, and there is no means to help this but by seasonable intermissions But let not a man trust his victory over his nature too far, for nature will be hurried a great time, and yet revive upon the occasion or temptation Like as it was with Æsop's damsel, turned from a cat to a woman, who sat very demurely at the board's end, till a mouse ran before her Therefore let a man either avoid the occasion altogether, or put himself often to it, that he may be little moved with it A man's nature is best per- 40 ceived in privateness, for there is no affectation, in passion, for that putteth a man out of his precepts, and in a new case or experiment, for there custom leaveth him They are happy men whose natures sort with their vocations, otherwise they may say, *multum incola fuit anima mea*, [*my soul*

hath been long a sojourner,] when they converse in those things they do not affect. In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it, but whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care
 50 for any set times, for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves, so as the spaces of other business or studies will suffice. A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds, therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

XXXIX. OF CUSTOM AND EDUCATION

Men's thoughts are much according to their inclination, their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions, but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed. And therefore as Machiavel well noteth, (though in an evil favoured instance,) there is no trusting to the force of nature nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate by custom. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate conspiracy, a man should not rest upon the fierceness of any man's nature, or his resolute undertakings.
 10 but take such in one as hath had his hands formerly in blood. But Machiavel knew not of a friar Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor a Juneguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard, yet his rule holdeth still, that nature, nor the engagement of words, are
 -- not so forcible as custom. Only superstition is now so well advanced, that men of the first blood are as firm as butchers by occupation, and votary resolution is made equipollent to custom even in matter of blood. In other things the predominancy of custom is every where visible, insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give
 20 great words, and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead images, and engines moved only by the wheels of custom. We see also the reign or tyranny of custom, what it is. The Indians (I mean the sect of their

wise men) lay themselves quietly upon a stack of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire Nay the wives strive to be burned with the corpses of their husbands The lads of Sparta, of ancient time, were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as queching I remember, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel condemned, put up a petition to the deputy that 30 he might be hanged in a with, and not in an halter, because it had been so used with former rebels There be monks in Russia, for penance, that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged with hard ice Many examples may be put of the force of custom, both upon mind and body Therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years this we call education, which is, in effect, but an early custom So we see, in languages the tongue is more 40 pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions, in youth than afterwards For it is true that late learners cannot so well take the ply, except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare But if the force of custom simple and separate be great, the force of custom copulate and conjoined and collegiate is far greater For there example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory ruseth 50 so as in such places the force of custom is in his exaltation Certainly the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined For commonwealth and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds But the misery is, that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired

XL OF FORTUNE

It cannot be denied, but outward accidents conduce much to fortune, favour, opportunity, death of others, occasion fitting virtue. But chiefly, the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands. *Faber quisque fortune sue*, [Every one may be the architect of his own fortune,] saith the poet. And the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another. For no man prospers so suddenly as by others' error. *Serpens non serpentem comederit non fit draco* [1 serpent does not become a dragon except by eating another serpent]. Overt and apparent virtues bring forth praise, but there be secret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortune; certain deliveries of a man's self, which have no name. The Spanish name, *disemboltura*, partly expresseth them, when there be not stounds nor restiveness in a man's nature, but that the wheels of his mind keep way with the wheels of his fortune. For so Livy (after he had described Cato Major in these words, *In illo viro tantum robur corporis et animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi facturum videretur*, [He possessed such strength of mind and body, that he could probably have made for himself a fortune, wherever he had been born,]) falleth upon that, that he had *versatile ingenium*. Therefore if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see Fortune: for though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The way of fortune is like the milken way in the sky, which is a meeting or knot of a number of small stars, not seen asunder, but giving light together. So are there a number of little and scarce discerned virtues, or rather faculties and customs, that make men fortunate. The Italians note some of them, such as a man would little think.

When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw in into his other conditions, that he hath *Poco di matto* [a little of the fool]. And certainly there be not two more fortunate properties, than to have a little of the fool,

and not too much of the honest Therefore extreme lovers of their country or masters were never fortunate, neither can they be For when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way An hasty fortune maketh an enterpriser and remover, (the French hath it better, *entreprenant*, or *remuant*,) but the exercised fortune maketh the able man Fortune is to be honoured and respected, and 40 it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation For those two felicity breedeth, the first within a man's self, and the latter in others towards him All wise men, to decline the envy of their own virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and Fortune For so they may the better assume them and, besides, it is greatness in a man to be the care of the higher powers So Cesar said to the pilot in the tempest, *Casarem portas, et fortunam ejus* [You carry Cesar and his fortune] So Sylla chose the name of *Felix* [Fortunate], and not of *Magnus* [Great] And it hath been noted, that 50 those who ascribe openly too much to their own wisdom and policy, end infortunate It is written that Timotheus the Athenian, after he had, in the account he gave to the state of his government, often interlaced this speech, *and in this Fortune had no part*, never prospered in any thing he undertook afterwards Certainly there be, whose fortunes are like Homer's verses, that have a slide and easiness more than the verses of other poets, as Plutarch saith of Timoleon's fortune, in respect of that of Agesilaus or Epaminondas And that this should be, no doubt it is much in a man's self 60

XLI OF USURY

MANY have made witty invectives against Usury They say that it is a pity the devil should have God's part, which is the tithe That the usurer is the greatest Sabbath-breaker, because his plough goeth every Sunday That the usurer is the drone that Virgil speaketh of.

Ignarum fucos pecus a presepihus arcent

[*They drive away the drones, an idle herd, from their hives*]

That the usurer breaketh the first law that was made for mankind after the fall, which was, *in sudore vultus tui comedes panem tuum*, not, *in sudore vultus alieni* [in the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread, not, in the sweat of another man's brow] That usurers should have orange tawny bonnets because they do judaize That it is against nature for money to beget money, and the like I say this only, that usury is a *concessum propter duritiam cordis* [a thing allowed on account of the hardness of man's heart] for since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted Some others have made suspicious and cunning propositions of banks, discovery of men's estates, and other inventions But few have spoken of usury usefully It is good to set before us the inconveniences and commodities of usury, that the good may be either weighed out or culled out, and warily to provide, that while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse

The inconveniences of usury are, First, that it makes fewer merchants For were it not for this lazy trade of usury, money would not lie still, but would in great part be employed upon merchandizing, which is the *vena porta* of wealth in a state The second, that it makes poor merchants For as a farmer cannot husband his ground so well if he sit at a great rent, so the merchant cannot drive his trade so well, if he sit at great usury The third is incident to the other two, and that is the decay of customs of kings or states, which ebb or flow with merchandizing The fourth, that it bringeth the treasure of a realm or state into a few hands For the usurer being at certainties, and others at uncertainties, at the end of the game most of the money will be in the box, and ever a state flourisheth when wealth is more equally spread. The fifth, that it beats down the price of land, for the employment of money is chiefly

either merchandizing or purchasing, and usury waylays both. The sixth, that it doth dull and damp all industries, improvements, and new inventions, wherein money would be stirring, if it were not for this slug. The last, that it is the canker and ruin of many men's estates, which in process of time breeds a public poverty.

On the other side, the commodities of usury are, first, that howsoever usury in some respects hindereth merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it, for it is certain that the greatest part of trade is driven by young merchants, upon borrowing at interest, so as if the usurer either call in or keep back his money, there will ensue presently a great stand of trade. The second is that were it not for this easy borrowing upon interest, men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing, in that they would be forced to sell their means (be it lands or goods) far under foot, and so, whereas usury doth but gnaw upon them, bad markets would swallow them quite up. As for mortgaging or pawning, it will little mend the matter for either men will not take pawns without use, or if they do, they will look precisely for the forfeiture. I remember a cruel minded man in the country, that would say, *The devil take this usury, it keeps us from forfeitures of mortgages and bonds*. The third and last is, that it is a vanity to conceive that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit, and it is impossible to conceive the number of inconveniences that will ensue, if borrowing be cramped. Therefore to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle. All states have ever had it, in one kind or rate, or other. So as that opinion must be sent to Utopia.

To speak now of the reformation and reiglement of usury, how the discommodities of it may be best avoided, and the commodities retained. It appears by the balance of commodities and discommodities of usury, two things are to be reconciled. The one, that the tooth of usury be grinded, that it bite not too much, the other, that there be left open a means to invite minded men to lend to the merchants, for

the continuing and quickening of trade This cannot be done, except you introduce two several sorts of usury, a less
 80 and a greater For if you reduce usury to one low rate, it will ease the common borrower, but the merchant will be to seek for money And it is to be noted, that the trade of merchandize, being the most lucrative, may bear usury at a good rate other contracts not so

To serve both intentions, the way would be briefly thus That there be two rates of usury, the one free, and general for all, the other under licence only, to certain persons and in certain places of merchandizing First therefore, let usury in general be reduced to five in the hundred, and let
 90 that rate be proclaimed to be free and current, and let the state shut itself out to take any penalty for the same This will preserve borrowing from any general stop or dryness. This will ease infinite borrowers in the country This will, in good part, raise the price of land, because land purchased at sixteen years' purchase will yield six in the hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this rate of interest yields but five This by like reason will encourage and edge industrious and profitable improvements, because many will rather venture in that kind than take five in the hundred, especially having
 100 been used to greater profit Secondly, let there be certain persons licensed to lend to known merchants upon usury at a higher rate, and let it be with the cautions following Let the rate be, even with the merchant himself, somewhat more easy than that he used formerly to pay, for by that means all borrowers shall have some ease by this reformation, be he merchant, or whosoever Let it be no bank or common stock, but every man be master of his own money Not that I altogether mislike banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions Let the state be
 110 answered some small matter for the licence, and the rest left to the lender, for if the abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the lender For he, for example, that took before ten or nine in the hundred, will sooner descend to

eight in the hundred, than give over his trade of usury, and go from certain gains to gains of hazard. Let these licensed lenders be in number indefinite, but restrained to certain principal cities and towns of merchandizing, for then they will be hardly able to colour other men's monies in the country so as the license of nine will not suck away the current rate of five; for no man will lend his monies far off, nor put them into unknown hands 120

If it be objected that this doth in a sort authorize usury, which before was in some places but permissive, the answer is, that it is better to mitigate usury by declaration, than to suffer it to rage by connivance

XLII OF YOUTH AND AGE

A MAN that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second. For there is a youth in thoughts, as well as in ages. And yet the invention of young men is more lively than that of old, and imaginations stream into their minds better, and as it were more divinely. Natures that have much heat and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years; as it was with Julius Cæsar, and Septimius Severus. Of the latter of whom it is said, *Juventutem equi erroribus, imo furoribus, plenam*, [*He passed a youth full of errors, nay of madnesses*]. And yet he was the ablest emperor, almost, of all the list. But reposed natures may do well in youth. As it is seen in Augustus Cæsar, Cosmus Duke of Florence, Gaston de Foix, and others. On the other side, heat and vivacity in age is an excellent composition for business. Young men are fitter to invent than to judge, fitter for execution than for counsel, and fitter for new projects than for settled business. For the experience of age, in things that fall within the compass 20

of it, directeth them, but in new things, abuseth them The errors of young men are the ruin of business, but the errors of aged men amount but to this, that more might have been done, or sooner Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold, stir more than they can quiet, fly to the end, without consideration of the means and degrees, pursue some few principles which they have chanced upon absurdly, care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences, use extreme remedies at first, and that which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them, like an unruly horse, that will neither stop nor turn Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success Certainly it is good to compound employments of both, for that will be good for the present, because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both, and good for succession, that young men may be learners, while men in age are actors, and, lastly, good for externe accidents, because authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity youth But for the moral part, perhaps youth will have the pre eminence, as age hath for the politic A certain rabbin, upon the text, *Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams*, inferreth that young men are admitted nearer to God than old, because vision is a clearer revelation than a dream And certainly, the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding, than in the virtues of the will and affections There be some have an over-early ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes These are, first, such as have brittle wits, the edge whereof is soon turned, such as was Hermogenes the rhetorician, whose books are exceeding subtle, who afterwards waxed stupid A second sort is of those that have some natural dispositions which have better grace in youth than in age, such as is a fluent and luxuriant

speech, which becomes youth well, but not age so Tully saith of Hortensius, *Idem manebat, neque idem decebat* [*He did not change, though change would have been becoming*] The third is of such as take too high a strain at the first, and 60 are magnanimous more than tract of years can uphold As was Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy saith in effect, *Ultima primis cedebant* [*The end of his career was not equal to the beginning*]

XLIII OF BEAUTY

VIRTUE is like a rich stone, best plain set, and surely virtue is best in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features, and that hath rather dignity of presence, than beauty of aspect Neither is it almost seen, that very beautiful persons are otherwise of great virtue, as if nature were rather busy not to err, than in labour to produce excellency And therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spirit, and study rather behaviour than virtue But this holds not always for Augustus Cesar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Bel of France, Edward the Fourth of England, 10 Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael the Sophy of Persia, were all high and great spirits, and yet the most beautiful men of their times In beauty, that of favour is more than that of colour, and that of decent and gracious motion more than that of favour That is the best part of beauty, which a picture cannot express, no nor the first sight of the life There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion A man cannot tell whether Apelles or Albert Durer were the more trifler, whereof the one would make a personage by geometrical proportions, the other, by taking 20 the best parts out of divers faces, to make one excellent Such personages, I think, would please nobody but the painter that made them Not but I think a painter may make a better face than ever was, but he must do it by a

kind of felicity, (as a music can that maketh one ex-
 in music,) and not by rule. A man shall see that if
 you examine them part by part you shall find no-
 and yet all together do well. If it be true that the principal
 part of beauty is in decent motion, certainly it is to be marvel-
 30 though persons in youth seem many times more admirable
pulchritudine autem pulchritudine, [the more it is the less it is
 beautiful,] for no youth can be comely but be fadeth, and
 considering the youth as to make up the complexion. Beauty
 is as summer fruits, which are easy to corrupt, and cannot
 last, and for the most part it makes a discoloured youth, and
 an age a little out of countenance. But yet certainly again, if
 it light well, it maketh virtue shine, and vices blush.

XLIV OF DEFORMITY

Deformed persons are commonly even with nature, for as
 nature hath done ill by them, so do they by nature, being
 for the most part (as the Scripture saith) *void of natural*
affection, and so they have their revenge of nature. Cer-
 tainly there is a consent between the body and the mind,
 and where nature erreth in the one, she ventureth in the
 other. *Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero*. But because
 there is in man an election touching the frame of his mind,
 and a necessity in the frame of his body, the stars of natural
 10 inclination are sometimes obscured by the sun of discipline
 and virtue. Therefore it is good to consider of deformity,
 not as a sign, which is more deceivable, but as a cause,
 which seldom faileth of the effect. Whosoever hath any
 thing fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath
 also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself
 from scorn. Therefore all deformed persons are extreme bold.
 First, as in their own defence, as being exposed to scorn,
 but in process of time by a general habit. Also it stur-
 in them industry, and especially of this kind to watch and

observe the weakness of others, that they may have some- 20
 what to repay. Again, in their superiors, it quencheth
 jealousy towards them, as persons that they think they may
 at pleasure despise. and it layeth their competitors and
 emulators asleep, as never believing they should be in
 possibility of advancement, till they see them in possession.
 So that upon the matter, in a great wit, deformity is an
 advantage to rising. Kings in ancient times (and at this
 present in some countries) were wont to put great trust in
 eunuchs; because they that are envious towards all are more
 obnoxious and officious towards one. But yet their trust 30
 towards them hath rather been as to good spies and good
 whisperers, than good magistrates and officers. And much
 like is the reason of deformed persons. Still the ground is,
 they will, if they be of spirit, seek to free themselves from
 scorn, which must be either by virtue or malice, and there-
 fore let it not be marvelled if sometimes they prove excellent
 persons, as was Agesilaus, Zinger the son of Solymán,
 Asop, Garca President of Peru, and Socrates may go like-
 wise amongst them, with others.

XLV OF BUILDING

Houses are built to live in, and not to look on, therefore let
 use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may
 be had. Leave the goodly fabrics of houses, for beauty only,
 to the enchanted palaces of the poets, who build them with
 small cost. He that builds a fur house upon an ill seat,
 committeth himself to prison. Neither do I reckon it an ill
 seat only where the air is unwholesome, but likewise where
 the air is unequal, as you shall see many fine seats set upon
 a knap of ground, environed with higher hills round about
 it, whereby the heat of the sun is pent in, and the wind 10
 gathereth as in troughs, so as you shall have, and that
 suddenly, as great diversity of heat and cold as if you dwelt

in several places. Neither is it all wisely that maketh an estate it but ill wares, ill markets, and, if you will consult with Momus, ill neighbours. I speak not of rivers more, want of water, want of wood, shade, and shelter, want of fertility, want of mixture of grounds of several natures, want of prospect, want of level grounds, want of places at some near distance for sports of hunting, by land, or by sea, too
 20 near the sea, too remote, having the commoditie of navigable rivers, or the discommoditie of their overflowing, too far off from great cities, which may hinder business, or too near them, which purchaseth all provisions, and maketh every thing dear, where a man hath a great living laid together, and where he is scantled. All which, as it is impossible perhaps to bind together, so it is good to know them, and think of them, that a man may take as many as he can. And if he have several dwellings, that he sort them so that what he wanteth in the one he may find in the other. Lucullus answered
 30 Pompey well, who, when he saw his stately galleries, and rooms so large and lightsome, in one of his houses, said, Surely an excellent place for summer, but how do you in winter? Lucullus answered, *Why, do you not think as us wise as some foel are, that ever change their abode towards the winter?*

To pass from the seat to the house itself, we will do as Cicero doth in the orator's art, who writes books *De Oratore*, and a book he entitles *Orator*, whereof the former delivers the precepts of the art, and the latter the perfection. We will therefore describe a princely palace, making a brief
 40 model thereof. For it is strange to see, now in Europe, such huge buildings as the Vatican and Escorial and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair room in them.

First therefore, I say you cannot have a perfect palace, except you have two several sides, a side for the banquet, as is spoken of in the book of Hester, and a side for the household, the one for feasts and triumphs and the other for dwelling. I understand both these sides to be not only returns, but parts of the front, and to be uniform without,

though severally partitioned within , and to be on both sides of a great and statelý tower in the midst of the front, that, 50 as it were, joineth them together on either hand I would have on the side of the banquet, in front, one only goodly room above stairs, of some forty foot high ; and under it a room for a dressing or preparing place at times of triumphs On the other side, which is the household side, I wish it divided at the first into a hall and a chapel, (with a partition between ,) both of good state and bigness , and those not to go all the length, but to have at the further end a winter and a summer parlour, both fair And under these rooms, a fair and large cellar sunk under ground , and 60 likewise some privy kitchens, with butteries and pantries, and the like. As for the tower, I would have it two stories, of eighteen foot high a piece, above the two wings , and a goodly leads upon the top, railed with statues interposed , and the same tower to be divided into rooms, as shall be thought fit The stairs likewise to the upper rooms, let them be upon a fair open newel, and finely railed in with images of wood, cast into a brass colour , and a very fair landing place at the top But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower rooms for a dining place of servants For other- 70 wise you shall have the servants' dinner after your own for the steam of it will come up as in a tunnel And so much for the front. Only I understand the height of the first stairs to be sixteen foot, which is the height of the lower room

Beyond this front is there to be a fair court, but three sides of it of a far lower building than the front And in all the four corners of that court fair stair-cases, cast into turrets, on the outside, and not within the row of buildings themselves But those towers are not to be of the height of 80 the front, but rather proportionable to the lower building Let the court not be paved, for that striketh up a great heat in summer, and much cold in winter But only some side alleys, with a cross, and the quarters to graze, being kept

shorn, but not too near shorn The row of return on the banquet side, let it be all stately galleries in which galleries let there be three, or five, fine cupolas in the length of it, placed at equal distance, and fine coloured windows of several works On the household side, chambers of presence 90 and ordinary entertainments, with some bed chambers, and let all three sides be a double house, without thorough lights on the sides, that you may have rooms from the sun, both for forenoon and afternoon Cast it also, that you may have rooms both for summer and winter, shady for summer, and warm for winter You shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass, that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the sun or cold For embowed windows, I hold them of good use, (in cities, indeed, upright do better, in respect of the uniformity towards the street,) for they be pretty 100 retiring places for conference, and besides, they keep both the wind and sun off, for that which would strike almost thorough the room, doth scarce pass the window But let them be but few, four in the court, on the sides only

Beyond this court, let there be an inward court, of the same square and height, which is to be environed with the garden on all sides, and in the inside, cloistered on all sides, upon decent and beautiful arches, as high as the first story On the under story, towards the garden, let it be turned to a grotto, or place of shade, or estivation, and only have 110 opening and windows towards the garden, and be level upon the floor, no whit sunken under ground, to avoid all dampishness And let there be a fountain, or some fair work of statues in the midst of this court, and to be paved as the other court was These buildings to be for privy lodgings on both sides, and the end for privy galleries Whereof you must foresee that one of them be for an infirmary, if the prince or any special person should be sick, with chambers, bed-chamber, *antecamera*, and *recamera*, joining to it This upon the second story Upon the ground 120 story, a fair gallery, open, upon pillars, and upon the third

story likewise, an open gallery, upon pillars, to take the prospect and freshness of the garden At both corners of the further side, by way of return, let there be two delicate or rich cabinets, daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystalline glass, and a rich cupola in the midst, and all other elegancy that may be thought upon In the upper gallery too, I wish that there may be, if the place will yield it, some fountains running in divers places from the wall, with some fine avoidances. And thus much for the model of the palace, save that you must have, before you come to the front, three courts A green court plain, with a wall about it, a second court of the same, but more garnished, with little turrets, or rather embellishments, upon the wall, and a third court, to make a square with the front, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a naked wall, but enclosed with tarrasses, leaded aloft, and fairly garnished, on the three sides, and cloistered on the inside, with pillars, and not with arches below As for offices, let them stand at distance, with some low galleries, to pass from them to the palace itself.

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XLVI OF GARDENS

GOD ALMIGHTY first planted a Garden And indeed it is the purest of human pleasures It is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man, without which buildings and palaces are but gross handyworks and a man shall ever see that when ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build stately sooner than to garden finely, as if gardening were the greater perfection I do hold it, in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year, in which severally things of beauty may be then in season For December and January, and the latter part of November, you must take such things as are green all winter holly, ivy, bays, juniper, cypress-trees, yew, pine-apple-trees,

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in trees, rosemary, lavender, periwinkle, the white, the purple, and the blue, germander, flig, orange-trees, lemon-trees, and myrtles, if they be stoved, and sweet marjoram, warm set. There followeth, for the latter part of January and February, the mezerion tree, which then blossoms, crocus vernus, both the yellow and the grey, primroses, anemones, the early tulippa, hyacinthus orientalis, chris-
 20 mairs, fritellaria. For March, there come violets, specially the single blue, which are the earliest, the yellow daffodil, the daisy, the almond tree in blossom, the perch tree in blossom, the cornelian tree in blossom, sweet-briar. In April follow, the double white violet, the wall-flower, the stock gillflower, the cowslip, flower de-luces, and lilies of all natures, rosemary flowers, the tulippa, the double piony, the pale daffodil, the French honeysuckle, the cherry-tree in blossom, the dammasin and plum-trees in blossom, the white thorn in leaf, the lilac tree. In May
 30 and June come pinks of all sorts, especially the blush-pink, roses of all kinds, except the musk, which comes later, honeysuckles, strawberries, bugloss, columbine, the French marigold, flos Africanus, cherry-tree in fruit, ribes, figs in fruit, rasps, vine flowers, lavender in flowers, the sweet satyrian, with the white flower, herba muscaria, lilium convallium, the apple tree in blossom. In July come gill-flowers of all varieties, musk-roses, the lime-tree in blossom, early pears and plums in fruit, gentings, quadlins. In
 40 August come plums of all sorts in fruit, pears, apuicocks, berberries, filberds, musk-melons, monks-hoods of all colours. In September come grapes, apples, poppies of all colours, peaches, melocotones, nectarines, cornelians, wardenes, quinces. In October and the beginning of November come services, medlars, bullaces, roses cut or removed to come late, holy-oaks, and such like. These particulars are for the climate of London, but my meaning is perceived, that you may have *ver perpetuum*, [*a perpetual spring*,] as the place affords.

And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (when it comes and goes like the wubling of music) than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight, than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air. Roses, damask and red, are fast flowers of their smell; so that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness, yet though it be in a morning's dew. Bays likewise yield no smell as they grow. Rosemary little, nor sweet marjoram. That which above all others yields the sweetest smell in the air, is the violet, specially the white double violet, which comes twice a year, about the middle of April, and about Bartholomew-tide. Next to that is the musk-rose. Then the strawberry-leaves dying, with a most excellent cordial smell. Then the flower of the vines, it is a little dust, like the dust of a bent, which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth. Then sweet-brier. Then wall-flowers, which are very delightful to be set under a parlour or lower chamber window. Then pinks and gillflowers, especially the matted pink and clove gillflower. Then the flowers of the lime-tree. Then the honeysuckles, so they be somewhat afar off. Of herb-flowers I speak not, because they are field flowers. But those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three, that is, burnet, wild-thyme, and waterminits. Therefore you are to set whole alleys of them, to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

For gardens (speaking of those which are indeed prince-like, as we have done of buildings), the contents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground, and to be divided into three parts, a green in the entrance, a heath or desert in the going forth, and the main garden in the midst, besides alleys on both sides. And I like well that four acres of ground be assigned to the green, six to the heath, four and four to either side, and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleasures: the one, because nothing is

more pleasant to the eye, that your garden be kept in such a way, the other, because it will give you a different view in the garden, by which you may see the fruit of your labour, which is to enclose the garden with a wall, the all of which will be done, and in great haste of the work, and, as I have said, to let the shade in the garden be done in the same way, the green therefore you are of either side the great plant a covert alley, upon carpenters' work, about twelve foot in height, by which you may pass the whole of the garden. As for the making of fountains or fountains with diversions, and cuttes that they may be under the wall of the house on that side which the garden stands, that be but now you may see a good sight many times in taste. The garden is best to be square, encompassed on all the four sides with a stately arched hedge. The arches to be upon pillars of carpenters' work, of some ten foot high, and six foot broad, and the spaces between of the same dimensions with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches let there be an entire hedge of some four foot high framed also upon carpenters' work, and upon the upper hedge over every arch, a little turret, with a belly, enough to receive a cage of birds, and over every space between the arches some other little figure with broad plates of round coloured glass gilt, for the sun to play upon. But this hedge I intend to be raised upon a bank, not steep, but gently slope, of some six foot, set all with flowers. Also I understand, that this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys, unto which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you. But there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure, not at the further end, for letting your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green, nor at the further end, for letting your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath.

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device, advising nevertheless that

whatsoever fort you cast it into, first, it be not too busy, or full of work. Wherein I, for my part, do not like images cut out in jumper or other garden stuff, they be for children. Little low hedges, round, like wells, with some pretty pyramids, I like well, and in some places, fair columns upon frames of carpenters' work. I would also have the alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the side grounds, but none in the main garden. I wish also, in the very middle, a fair mount, with three ascents, and allys, enough for four to walk threest, which I would have to be 170 perfect circles, without any bulwarks or embossments, and the whole mount to be thirty foot high, and some fine banquetting-house, with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass.

For fountains, they are a great beauty and refreshment, but pools mar all, and make the garden unwholesome, and full of flies and frogs. Fountains I intend to be of two natures: the one that sprinklcth or spouteth water, the other a fair receipt of water, of some thirty or forty foot square, but without fish, or slime, or mud. For the first, the 110 ornaments of images gilt, or of marble, which are in use, do well: but the main matter is so to convey the water, as it never stay, either in the bowls or in the cistern, that the water be never by rest discoloured, green or red or the like, or gather any mossiness or putrefaction. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand. Also some steps up to it, and some fine pavement about it, doth well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing pool, it may admit much curiosity and beauty, wherewith we will not trouble ourselves, as, that the bottom be finely paved, 150 and with images, the sides likewise, and withal embellished with coloured glass, and such things of lustre, encompassed also with fine rails of low statues. But the main point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain, which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair

spouts, and then discharged away under ground, by some equality of bores, that it stay little And for fine devices, of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several
 160 forms (of feathers, drinking glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness

For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a natural wildness Trees I would have none in it, but some thickets made only of sweet briar and honeysuckle, and some wild vine amongst, and the ground set with violets, strawberries, and primroses For these we sweet, and prosper in the shade And these to be in the heath, here and there, not in any order I like
 170 also little heaps in the nature of mole-hills (such as are in wild heaths) to be set some with wild thyme, some with pinks, some with germander, that gives a good flower to the eye, some with periwinkle, some with violets, some with strawberries, some with cowslips, some with daisies, some with red roses, some with lilium convallium, some with sweet-williams red, some with bear's foot and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly Part of which heaps we to be with standards of little bushes pricked upon their top, and part without The standards to be roses, juniper,
 180 holly, berberries, (but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom,) red currants, gooseberries, rosemary, bays, sweet-briar, and such like But these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course

For the side grounds, you we to fill them with variety of alleys, private, to give a full shade, some of them, wheresoever the sun be You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter, that when the wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a gallery And those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the wind, and these closer alleys must be
 190 ever finely gravelled, and no grass, because of going wet. In many of these alleys likewise, you are to set fruit-trees of all sorts, as well upon the walls as in ranges And this would

be generally observed, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit-trees be fair and large, and low, and not steep; and set with fine flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive the trees. At the end of both the side grounds, I would have a mount of some pretty height, leaving the wall of the enclosure breast high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the main garden, I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys ranged on both sides, with fruit-trees, and 200 some pretty tufts of fruit-trees, and arbours with seats, set in some decent order, but these to be by no means set too thick, but to leave the main garden so as it be not close, but the air open and free. For as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side grounds, thither to walk, if you be disposed, in the heat of the year or day, but to make account that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year; and in the heat of summer, for the morning and the evening or over-cast days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that large- 210 ness as they may be tarfed, and have living plants and bushes set in them, that the birds may have more scope, and natural nestling, and that no foulness appear on the floor of the aviary. So I have made a platform of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing, not a model, but some general lines of it, and in this I have spared for no cost. But it is nothing for great princes, that for the most part taking advice with workmen, with no less cost set their things together, and sometimes add struts, and such things, for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true 220 pleasure of a garden.

XLVII OF NEGOCIATING

It is generally better to deal by speech than by letter, and by the mediation of a third than by a man's self. Letters are good, when a man would draw an answer by letter back

again, or when it may serve for a man's justification afterwards to produce his own letter, or where it may be danger to be interrupted, or heard by pieces. To deal in person is good, when a man's face breedeth regard, as commonly with inferiors, or in tender cases, where a man's eye upon the countenance of him with whom he speaketh may give him a
 10 direction how far to go, and generally, where a man will reserve to himself liberty, either to disavow or to expound. In choice of instruments, it is better to choose men of a plainer sort, that are like to do that that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, than those that are cunning to contrive out of other men's business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in report for satisfaction sake. Use also such persons as affect the business wherein they are employed, for that quickeneth much, and such as are fit for the matter, as bold men for expostu-
 20 lation, fair-spoken men for persuasion, crafty men for inquiry and observation, froward and absurd men for business that doth not well bear out itself. Use also such as have been lucky, and prevailed before in things wherein you have employed them, for that breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their prescription. It is better to sound a person with whom one deals afar off, than to fall upon the point at first, except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite, than with those that are where they would be. If a man deal
 30 with another upon conditions, the start or first performance is all, which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such, which must go before, or else a man can persuade the other party that he shall still need him in some other thing, or else that he be counted the honestest man. All practice is to discover, or to work. Men discover themselves in trust, in passion, at un-awares, and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done and cannot find an apt pretext. If you would work any man, you must either know his nature and fashions, and

so lead him , or his ends, and so persuade him , or his weak- 40
ness and disadvantages, and so awe him , or those that have
interest in him, and so govern him In dealing with cunning
persons, we must ever consider their ends, to interpret their
speeches ; and it is good to say little to them, and that which
they least look for In all negotiations of difficulty, a man
may not look to sow and reap at once , but must prepare
business, and so ripen it by degrees

XLVIII OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS

COSTLY followers are not to be liked , lest while a man
maketh his train longer, he make his wings shorter I
reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the purse,
but which are wearisome and importune in suits Ordinary
followers ought to challenge no higher conditions than
countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs
Factionous followers are worse to be liked, which follow not
upon affection to him with whom they range themselves,
but upon discontentment conceived against some other ,
whereupon commonly ensueth that ill intelligence that we 10
many times see between great personages Likewise glorious
followers, who make themselves as trumpets of the com-
mendation of those they follow, are full of inconvenience , for
they taint business through want of secrecy , and they export
honour from a man, and make him a return in envy There
is a kind of followers likewise which are dangerous, being
indeed espials , which inquire the secrets of the house, and
bear tales of them to others Yet such men, many times,
are in great favour , for they are officious, and commonly
exchange tales The following by certain estates of men, 20
answerable to that which a great person himself professeth,
(as of soldiers to him that hath been employed in the wars,
and the like,) hath ever been a thing civil, and well taken
even in monarchies , so it be without too much pomp or

popularity But the most honourable kind of following is to be followed as one that apprehendeth to advance virtue and desert in all sorts of persons And yet, where there is no eminent odds in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, than with the more able And besides, to
 30 speak truth, in base times active men are of more use than virtuous It is true that in government it is good to use men of one rank equally for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent, because they may claim a due But contrariwise, in favour, to use men with much difference and election is good, for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious because all is of favour It is good discretion not to make too much of any man at the first, because one cannot hold out that proportion To be governed (as we
 40 call it) by one, is not safe, for it shows softness, and gives a freedom to scandal and disreputation, for those that would not censure or speak ill of a man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them, and thereby wound their honour Yet to be distracted with many is worse, for it makes men to be of the last impression, and full of change To take advice of some few friends is ever honourable, for lookers on many times see more than gamesters, and the vale best discovereth the hill There is little friendship in the world and least of all between
 50 equals, which was wont to be magnified That that is, is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other

XLIX OF SUITORS

MANY ill matters and projects are undertaken, and private suits do putrify the public good Many good matters are undertaken with bad minds, I mean not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds, that intend not performance Some

embrace suits, which never mean to deal effectually in them but if they see there may be life in the matter by some other mean, they will be content to win a thank, or take a second reward, or at least to make use in the mean time of the suitor's hopes. Some take hold of suits only for an occasion to cross some other, or to make an information whereof 10 they could not otherwise have apt pretext, without care what become of the suit when that turn is served, or, generally, to make other men's business a kind of entertainment to bring in their own. Nay some undertake suits, with a full purpose to let them fall, to the end to gratify the adverse party or competitor. Surely there is in some sort a right in every suit, either a right in equity, if it be a suit of controversy, or a right of desert, if it be a suit of petition. If affection lead a man to favour the wrong side in justice, let him rather use his countenance to compound the 20 matter than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraving or disabling the better deserver. In suits which a man doth not well understand, it is good to refer them to some friend of trust and judgment, that may report whether he may deal in them with honour. but let him choose well his referendaries, for else he may be led by the nose. Suitors are so distasted with delays and abuses, that plain dealing in denying to deal in suits at first, and reporting the success barely, and in challenging no more thanks than one hath 30 deserved, is grown not only honourable but also gracious. In suits of favour, the first coming ought to take little place so far forth consideration may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have been had but by him, advantage be not taken of the note, but the party left to his other means, and in some sort recompensed for his discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a suit is simplicity, as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof is want of conscience. Secrecy in suits is a great mean of obtaining, for voicing them to be in forwardness may dis- 40

courage some kind of suitors, but doth quicken and awake others. But timing of the suit is the principal. Timing, I say, not only in respect of the person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a man, in the choice of his mean, rather choose the fittest mean than the greatest mean, and rather them that deal in certain things, than those that are general. The reparation of a denial is sometimes equal to the first grant, if a man show himself neither dejected nor discontented. *Iniquum petas ut*
 50 *aquum feras*, [ask more than is reasonable, that you may get as much as is reasonable,] is a good rule, where a man hath strength of favour. but otherwise a man were better rise in his suit, for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor, will not in the conclusion lose both the suitor and his own former favour. Nothing is thought so easy a request to a great person, as his letter, and yet, if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation. There are no worse instruments than these general contrivers of suits, for they are but a kind of poison and infection to
 60 public proceedings.

L. OF STUDIES

STUDIES serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability. Their chief use for delight, is in privateness and retiring, for ornament, is in discourse, and for ability, is in the judgment and disposition of business. For expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one, but the general counsels, and the plots and marshalling of affairs, come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies is sloth, to use them too much for ornament, is affectation, to make judgment wholly by their
 10 rules, is the humour of a scholar. They perfect nature, and are perfected by experience. for natural abilities are like natural plants that need proving by study, and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except

they be bounded in by experience Crafty men contemn studies, simple men admire them, and wise men use them, for they teach not their own use, but that is a wisdom without them, and above them, won by observation Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested, that is, some books are to be read only in parts, others to be read, but not curiously, and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others, but that would be only in the less important arguments, and the meaner sort of books, else distilled books are like common distilled waters, flashy things Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man And therefore, if a man write little, he had need have a great memory, if he confer little, he had need have a present wit and if he read little, he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that he doth not Histories make men wise, poets witty, the mathematics subtil, natural philosophy deep, moral grave, logic and rhetoric able to contend *Abeunt studia in mores* [*Studies pass into the character*] Nay there is no stand or impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit studies like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises Bowling is good for the stone and reins; shooting for the lungs and breast, gentle walking for the stomach, riding for the head, and the like So if a man's wit be wandering, let him study the mathematics, for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again If his wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences, let him study the schoolmen, for they are *cymini sectores* If he be not apt to beat over matters, and to call up one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers' cases. So every defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

LI OF FACTION

MANY have an opinion not wise, that for a prince to govern his estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings, according to the respect of factions, is a principal part of policy, whereas contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is either in ordering those things which are general, and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree, or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons, one by one. But I say not that the consideration of factions is to be neglected. Mean men, in their rising, must adhere, but great men, 10 that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral. Yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one faction which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction, and it is often seen that a few that are stiff do tire out a greater number that are more moderate. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth, as the faction between Lucullus and the rest of the nobles of the senate (which they called *optimates*) held out awhile 20 against the faction of Pompey and Cæsar, but when the senate's authority was pulled down, Cæsar and Pompey soon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius and Octavius Cæsar against Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time, but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown then soon after Antonius and Octavius brake and subdivided. These examples are of wars, but the same holdeth in private factions. And therefore those that are seconds in factions do many times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals, but many times also they prove cyphers and cashured; 30 for many a man's strength is in opposition, and when that faileth he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen that men come placed take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter, thinking like that they have the first surt, and now are read for a new purchase. The traitor in

faction lightly goeth away with it, for when matters have stuck long in balancing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two factions proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to a man's self, with end to make use of both. Certainly in Italy they hold it a little suspect in 40 popes, when they have often in their mouth *Padre commune* and take it to be a sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own house. Kings had need beware how they side themselves, and make themselves as of a faction or party, for leagues within the state are ever pernicious to monarchies for they raise an obligation paramount to obligation of sovereignty, and make the king *tantum unus ex nobis* [as one of us], as was to be seen in the League of France. When factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a sign of weakness in princes, and much to the prejudice 50 both of their authority and business. The motions of factions under kings ought to be like the motions (as the astronomers speak) of the inferior orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of *primum mobile*.

LI OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS

He that is only real, had need have exceeding great parts of virtue, as the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil. But if a man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of men as it is in gettings and gains for the proverb is true, *That light gains make heavy purses*, for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then. So it is true that small matters win great commendation, because they are continually in use and in note whereas the occasion of any great virtue cometh but on festivals. Therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is (as Queen Isabell 10 said) like perpetual letters commendatory, to have good forms. To attain them it almost sufficeth not to despise

them, for so shall a man observe them in others, and let
 him trust himself with the rest. For if he labour too much
 to express them, he shall lose their grace, which is to be
 natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour is like a
 verse, wherein every syllable is measured, how can a man
 comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much
 to small observations? Not to use ceremonies at all, is to
 20 teach others not to use them again, and so diminisheth respect
 to himself, especially they be not to be omitted to strangers
 and formal natures, but the dwelling upon them, and exalt-
 ing them above the moon, is not only tedious, but doth
 diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks. And
 certainly there is a kind of conveying of effectual and im-
 printing passages amongst compliments, which is of singular
 use, if a man can hit upon it. Amongst a man's peers a man
 shall be sure of familiarity, and therefore it is good a little
 to keep state. Amongst a man's inferiors one shall be sure
 30 of reverence, and therefore it is good a little to be familiar.
 He that is too much in any thing, so that he giveth another
 occasion of satiety, maketh himself cheap. To apply one's
 self to others is good, so it be with demonstration that a
 man doth it upon regard, and not upon facility. It is a good
 precept generally in seconding another, yet to add somewhat
 of one's own: as if you will grant his opinion, let it be with
 some distinction, if you will follow his motion, let it be with
 condition, if you allow his counsel, let it be with alleging
 further reason. Men had need beware how they be too per-
 40 fect in compliments, for be they never so sufficient otherwise,
 their enviers will be sure to give them that attribute, to
 the disadvantage of their greater virtues. It is loss also in
 business to be too full of respects, or to be curious in observing
 times and opportunities. Salomon saith, *He that considereth
 the wind shall not sow, and he that looketh to the clouds shall
 not reap*. A wise man will make more opportunities than he
 finds. Men's behaviour should be like their apparel, not too
 strait or point device, but free for exercise or motion.

LIII. OF PRAISE

PRAISE is the reflexion of virtue But it is as the glass on body which giveth the reflexion If it be from the common people, it is commonly false and naught, and rather followeth vain persons than virtuous For the common people understand not many excellent virtues The lowest virtues draw praise from them, the middle virtues work in them astonishment or admiration, but of the highest virtues they have no sense of perceiving at all But shows, and *species virtutibus similes*, serve best with them Certainly fame is like a river, that beareth up things light and swoln, and drowns things 10 weighty and solid But if persons of quality and judgment concur, then it is (as the Scripture saith), *Adomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis*, [*A good name like a fragrant ointment*] It filleth all round about, and will not easily away For the odours of ointments are more durable than those of flowers There be so many false points of praise, that a man may justly hold it a suspect Some praises proceed merely of flattery. and if he be an ordinary flatterer, he will have certain common attributes, which may serve every man, if he be a cunning flatterer, he will follow the arch flatterer, 20 which is a man's self, and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most but if he be an impudent flatterer, look wherein a man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer entitle him to perforce, *spretâ conscientiâ* [*in contempt of conscience*] Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, *laudando præcipere*, [*to teach by praising,*] when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be Some men 30 are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy towards them, *pestimum genus inimicorum laudantium*; [*The worst kind of enemies are those who praise*]

Insomuch as it was a proverb amongst the Grecians, that *he that was praised to his hurt, should have a push rise upon his nose*, as we say, *that a blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie*. Certainly moderate praise, used with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the good. Salomon saith, *He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him*
 40 *no better than a curse*. Too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate contradiction, and procure envy and scorn. To praise a man's self cannot be decent, except it be in rare cases, but to praise a man's office or profession, he may do it with good grace, and with a kind of magnanimity. The cardinals of Rome, which are theologues, and friars, and schoolmen, have a phrase of notable contempt and scorn towards civil business: for they call all temporal business of wars, embassages, judicature, and other employments, *shir-*
rerie, which is *under sheriffries*, as if they were but matters
 50 for under sheriffs and catch-poles: though many times those under-sheriffries do more good than their high speculations. St Paul, when he boasts of himself, he doth oft interlace, *I speak like a fool*, but speaking of his calling, he saith, *Magnificabo apostolatium meum* [*I will magnify my office.*]

LIV OF VAIN-GLORY

It was prettily devised of Æsop, the fly sat upon the axle-tree of the chariot wheel, and said, *What a dust do I raise!* So are there some vain persons, that whatsoever goeth alone or moveth upon greater means, if they have never so little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are glorious must needs be factious, for all bravery stands upon comparisons. They must needs be violent, to make good their own vaunts. Neither can they be secret, and therefore not effectual, but according to the French proverb, *beaucoup*
 10 *de bruit, peu de fruit*, much bruit, little fruit. Yet certainly there is use of this quality in civil affairs. Where there is

an opinion and fame to be created either of virtue or greatness, these men are good trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth in the case of Antiochus and the Ætolians, *There are sometimes great effects of cross lies*, as if a man that negotiates between two princes, to draw them to join in a war against a third, doth extol the forces of either of them above measure, the one to the other and sometimes he that deals between man and man, raiseth his own credit with both, by pretending greater interest than he hath in either. And in 20 these and the like kinds, it often falls out that somewhat is produced of nothing, for lies are sufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on substance. In military commanders and soldiers, vain-glory is an essential point, for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory one courage sharpeneth another. In cases of great enterprise upon charge and adventure, a composition of glorious natures doth put life into business, and those that are of solid and sober natures have more of the ballast than of the sail. In fame of learning, the flight will be slow without some feathers of ostentation. *Qui de 30 contemnenda gloria libros scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt* [*Those who write books about despising glory, put their name upon the book*]. Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were men full of ostentation. Certainly vain-glory helpeth to perpetuate a man's memory, and virtue was never so beholden to human nature, as it received his due at the second hand. Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her age so well, if it had not been joined with some vanity in themselves, like unto varnish, that makes sealings not only shine but last. But all this while, when I speak of 40 vain-glory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus, *Omnium, quæ dixerat feceratque, arte quadam ostentator* [*In all that he said and did he had the art of displaying himself to advantage*] for that proceeds not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and discretion, and in some persons is not only comely, but gracious. For excusations, cessions, modesty itself well governed, are but arts of

ostentation And amongst those arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of, which is to be liberal of praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a man's self hath any perfection. For, saith Pliny very wittily, *In commending another you do yourself right, for he that you commend is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferior If he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more, if he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less* Glorious men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, the idols of parasites, and the slaves of their own vaunts

LV OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION

THE winning of honour is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without disadvantage For some in their actions do woo and affect honour and reputation, which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired And some, contrariwise, darken their virtue in the show of it, so as they be undervalued in opinion If a man perform that which hath not been attempted before, or attempted and given over, or hath been achieved, but not with so good circumstance, he shall purchase more honour than by effecting a matter of greater difficulty or virtue, wherein he is but a follower If a man so temper his actions, as in some one of them he doth content every faction or combination of people, the music will be the fuller A man is an ill husband of his honour, that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying of it through can honour him Honour that is gained and broken upon another hath the quickest reflexion, like diamonds cut with facets And therefore let a man contend to excel any competitors of his in honour, in outshooting them, if he can, in their own bow Discreet followers and servants help much to reputation *Omnis fama a domesticis emanat* [*all fame*

emanates from those of our household] Envy, which is the canker of honour, is best extinguished by declaring a man's self in his ends rather to seek merit than fame, and by attributing a man's successes rather to divine Providence and felicity, than to his own virtue or policy The true marshalling of the degrees of sovereign honour are these In the first place are *conditores imperiorum*, founders of states and commonwealths, such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael In the second place are *legislatores*, law-30 givers, which are also called second founders, or *perpetui principes*, because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone, such were Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Eadgar, Alphonsus of Castile, the Wise, that made the *Siete partidas* In the third place are *liberatores*, or *salvatores*, [*liberators or saviours,*] such as compound the long miseries of civil wars, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants, as Augustus Cæsar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, King Henry the Seventh of England, King Henry the Fourth of France In the fourth place are 40 *propagatores* or *propugnatores imperii*, [*extenders or defenders of empire,*] such as in honourable wars enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against invaders And in the last place are *patres patriæ*, [*fathers of their country,*] which reign justly, and make the times good wherein they live Both which last kinds need no examples, they are in such number Degrees of honour in subjects are, first *participes curarum*, [*partners of their cares,*] those upon whom princes do discharge the greatest weight of their affairs, their *right hands* as we call them The next are *duces belli*, great leaders, 50 such as are princes' lieutenants, and do them notable services in the wars The third are *gratiosi*, favourites, such as exceed not this scantling, to be solace to the sovereign, and harmless to the people And the fourth, *negotii pares*, [*men capable of affairs,*] such as have great places under princes, and execute their places with sufficiency There is an honour, likewise, which may be ranked amongst the

greatest, which happeneth rarely, that is, of such as sacrifice themselves to death or danger for the good of
60 then country, as was M. Regulus, and the two Decu

LVI OF JUDICATURE.

JUDGES ought to remember that their office is *jus dicere*, and not *jus dare*, to interpret law, and not to make law, or give law. Else will it be like the authority claimed by the church of Rome, which under pretext of exposition of Scripture doth not stick to add and alter, and to pronounce that which they do not find, and by show of antiquity to introduce novelty. Judges ought to be more learned than witty, more reverend than plausible, and more advised than confident. Above all things, integrity is their portion and proper
10 virtue. *Cursed* (saith the law) *is he that removeth the landmark*. The mislayer of a mere-stone is to blame. But it is the unjust judge that is the capital remover of landmarks, when he defineth amiss of lands and property. One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul examples. For these do but corrupt the stream, the other corrupteth the fountain. So saith Salomon, *Fons turbatus, et vena corrupta, est justus cadens in causâ suâ coram adversario*. [*A righteous man falling down before the wicked is as a troubled fountain or a corrupt spring*] The office of judges may have reference
20 unto the parties that sue, unto the advocates that plead, unto the clerks and ministers of justice underneath them, and to the sovereign or state above them.

First, for the causes or parties that sue. *There be* (saith the Scripture) *that turn judgment into wormwood*, and surely there be also that turn it into vinegar, for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it sour. The principal duty of a judge is to suppress force and fraud, whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open, and fraud when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious suits, which ought

to be spewed out, as the surfeit of courts A judge ought to 30
 prepare his way to a just sentence, as God useth to prepare
 his way, by raising valleys and taking down hills so when
 there appeareth on either side an high hand, violent prosecu-
 tion, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great
 counsel, then is the virtue of a judge seen, to make inequality
 equal, that he may plant his judgment as upon an even
 ground *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem*, [To blow the
 nose violently makes it bleed,] and where the wine-press is
 hard wrought, it yields a harsh wine, that tastes of the grape-
 stone Judges must beware of hard constructions and 40
 strained inferences, for there is no worse torture than the
 torture of laws Specially in case of laws penal, they ought
 to have care that that which was meant for terror be not
 turned into rigour, and that they bring not upon the people
 that shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, *Pluet super eos*
laqueos [He shall rain snares upon them] For penal laws
 pressed are a shower of snares upon the people Therefore let
 penal laws, if they have been sleepers of long, or if they
 be grown unfit for the present time, be by wise judges
 confined in the execution *Judicis officium est, ut res, ita* 50
tempora rerum, etc [It is the business of the judge to consider
 the time as well as the matter] In causes of life and death
 judges ought (as far as the law permitteth) in justice to
 remember mercy, and to cast a severe eye upon the example,
 but a merciful eye upon the person

Secondly, for the advocates and counsel that plead
 Patience and gravity of hearing is an essential part of
 justice, and an overspeaking judge is no well-tuned cymbal
 It is no grace to a judge first to find that which he might
 have heard in due time from the bar, or to show quickness 60
 of conceit in cutting off evidence or counsel too short, or to
 prevent information by questions, though pertinent The
 parts of a judge in hearing are four to direct the evidence,
 to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of speech,
 to recapitulate, select, and collate the material points of

that which hath been said . and to give the rule or sentence
 Whatsoever is above these is too much , and proceedeth
 either of glory and willingness to speak, or of impatience to
 hear, or of shortness of memory, or of want of a staid and
 70 equal attention It is a strange thing to see that the bold-
 ness of advocates should prevail with judges , whereas they
 should imitate God, in whose seat they sit , *who represseth*
the presumptuous, and giveth grace to the modest But it
 is more strange, that judges should have noted favourites ,
 which cannot but cause multiplication of fees, and suspicion of
 bye ways There is due from the judge to the advocate some
 commendation and gracing, where causes are well handled
 and fair pleaded , especially towards the side which obtaineth
 not , for that upholds in the client the reputation of his coun-
 80 sel, and beats down in him the conceit of his cause There
 is likewise due to the public a civil reprehension of advocates,
 where there appeareth cunning counsel, gross neglect, slight
 information, indiscreet pressing, or an over-bold defence
 And let not the counsel at the bar chop with the judge, nor
 wind himself into the handling of the cause anew after the
 judge hath declared his sentence , but on the other side, let
 not the judge meet the cause half way, nor give occasion for
 the party to say his counsel or proofs were not heard

Thirdly, for that that concerns clerks and ministers The
 90 place of justice is an hallowed place , and therefore not only
 the bench, but the foot-pace and precincts and purprise there-
 of, ought to be preserved without scandal and corruption For
 certainly *Grapes* (as the Scripture saith) *will not be gathered*
of thorns or thistles , neither can justice yield her fruit with
 sweetness amongst the briars and brambles of catching and
 polling clerks and ministers The attendance of courts is
 subject to four bad instruments First, certain persons that
 are sowers of suits , which make the court swell, and the
 country pine The second sort is of those that engage courts
 100 in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are not truly *amici curiæ*
 [*friends of the court*], but *parasiti curiæ* [*parasites of the court*],

in pushing a court up beyond her bounds, for then own scraps and advantage. The third sort is of those that may be recounted the left hands of courts, persons that are full of humble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and bring justice into oblique lines and labyrinths. And the fourth is the poller and exacter of fees, which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush wherein to while the sheep flies for defence in weather he is sure to lose part of his fleece 110

On the other side, an ancient clerk, skilful in precedents, wary in proceeding, and understanding in the business of the court, is an excellent finger of a court, and doth many times point the way to the judge himself

Fourthly, for that which may concern the sovereign and estate. Judges ought above all to remember the conclusion of the Roman twelve tables, *Salus populi suprema lex*, [*the safety of the people is the highest law*], and to know that laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious, and oracles not well inspired. Therefore it is an 120 happy thing in a state when kings and states do often consult with judges, and again when judges do often consult with the king and state. the one, when there is matter of law intervention in business of state, the other, when there is some consideration of state intervention in matter of law. For many times the things deduced to judgment may be *meum* and *tuum*, when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of estate. I call matter of estate, not only the parts of sovereignty, but whatsoever introduceth any great alteration or dangerous precedent, or concerneth manifestly any 130 great portion of people. And let no man weakly conceive that just laws and true policy have any antipathy, for they are like the spirits and sinews, that one moves with the other. Let judges also remember, that Salomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides. let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne, being circumspect that they do not check or oppose any points of sovereignty. Let not judges also be

so ignorant of their own right, as to think there is not left to them, as a principal part of their office, a wise use and application of laws. For they may remember what the Apostle
 140 saith of a greater law than theirs, *Nos scimus quia lex bona est, modo quis eâ utatur legitime* [we know that the law is good, provided that a man use it lawfully]

LVII OF ANGER.

To seek to extinguish Anger utterly is but a bravery of the Stoics. We have better oracles *Be angry, but sin not. Let not the sun go down upon your anger*. Anger must be limited and confined both in rise and in time. We will first speak how the natural inclination and habit to be angry may be attempered and calmed. Secondly, how the particular motions of anger may be repressed, or at least refrained from doing mischief. Thirdly, how to raise anger or appease anger in another.

- 10 For the first, there is no other way but to meditate and ruminate well upon the effects of anger, how it troubles man's life. And the best time to do this, is to look back upon anger when the fit is thoroughly over. Seneca saith well, *That anger is like ruin, which breaks itself upon that it falls*. The Scripture exhorteth us *To possess our souls in patience*. Whosoever is out of patience, is out of possession of his soul. Men must not turn bees,

animasque in vulnere ponunt.

- [*Put their lives in the wounds they inflict*] Anger is certainly
 20 a kind of baseness, as it appears well in the weakness of those subjects in whom it reigns, children, women, old folks, sick folks. Only men must beware that they carry their anger rather with scorn than with fear, so that they may seem rather to be above the injury than below it, which is a thing easily done, if a man will give law to himself in it.

For the second point, the causes and motives of anger are chiefly three. First, to be too sensible of hurt, for no man

is angry that feels not himself hurt, and therefore tender and delicate persons must needs be oft angry, they have so many things to trouble them, which more robust natures 30 have little sense of. The next is, the apprehension and construction of the injury offered to be, in the circumstances thereof, full of contempt: for contempt is that which putteth an edge upon anger, as much or more than the hurt itself. And therefore when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of contempt, they do kindle their anger much. Lastly, opinion of the touch of a mans reputation doth multiply and sharpen anger. Wherein the remedy is, that a man should have, as Gonsalvo was wont to say, *telam honoris crassiozem*, [*honour of a stouter web*] But in all 10 refrainings of anger, it is the best remedy to win time, and to make a man's self believe, that the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come, but that he foresees a time for it, and so to still himself in the mean time, and reserve it.

To contain anger from mischief, though it take hold of a man, there be two things whereof you must have special caution. The one, of extreme bitterness of words, especially if they be aculeate and proper, for *communia maledicta* [*common insults*] are nothing so much, and again, that in anger a man reveal no secrets; for that makes him not fit 50 for society. The other, that you do not peremptorily break off, in any business, in a fit of anger, but howsoever you show bitterness, do not act anything that is not revocable.

For raising and appeasing anger in another, it is done chiefly by choosing of times, when men are frowardest and worst disposed, to incense them. Again, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can find out to aggravate the contempt. And the two remedies are by the contraries. The former to take good times, when first to relate to a man an angry business, for the first impression is much, and the 60 other is, to sever, as much as may be, the construction of the injury from the point of contempt, imputing it to misunderstanding, fear, passion, or what you will.

LVIII OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS

SALOMON saith, *There is no new thing upon the earth* So that as Plato had an imagination, *That all knowledge was but remembrance*, so Salomon giveth his sentence, *That all novelty is but oblivion* Whereby you may see that the river of Lethé runneth as well above ground as below There is an abstruse astrologer that saith, *if it were not for two things that are constant, (the one is, that the fixed stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come nearer together, nor go further asunder, the other, that the diurnal*
 10 *motion perpetually keepeth time), no individual would last one moment* Certain it is, that the matter is in a perpetual flux, and never at a stay The great winding-sheets, that bury all things in oblivion, are two, deluges and earthquakes As for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not merely dispeople and destroy Phaeton's car went but a day And the three years' drought in the time of Elms was but particular, and left people alive As for the great burnings by lightnings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but narrow But in the other two destructions, by deluge and
 20 earthquake, it is further to be noted, that the remnant of people which hap to be reserved, are commonly ignorant and mountainous people, that can give no account of the time past, so that the oblivion is all one as if none had been left If you consider well of the people of the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a newer or a younger people than the people of the old world And it is much more likely that the destruction that hath heretofore been there, was not by earthquakes (as the Egyptian priest told Solon concerning the island of Atlantis, *that it was swallowed by an*
 30 *earthquake*,) but rather that it was desolated by a particular deluge For earthquakes are seldom in those parts But, on the other side, they have such pouring rivers, as the rivers of Asia and Afric and Europe are but brooks to them Then

Andes likewise, or mountains, are far higher than those with us; whereby it seems that the remnants of generations of men were in such a particular deluge saved. As for the observation that Machiavel hath, that the jealousy of sects doth much extinguish the memory of things, traducing Gregory the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities, I do not find that those zeals do any 40 great effects, nor last long, as it appeared in the succession of Sabian, who did revive the former antiquities.

The vicissitude or mutations in the superior globe are no fit matter for this present argument. It may be, Plato's great year, if the world should last so long, would have some effect, not in renewing the state of like individuals, (for that is the fume of those that conceive the celestial bodies have more accurate influences upon these things below than indeed they have,) but in gross. Comets, out of ques- 50 tion, have likewise power and effect over the gross and mass of things, but they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their journey, than wisely observed in their effects, especially in their respective effects, that is, what kind of comet, for magnitude, colour, version of the beams, placing in the region of heaven, or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a toy which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the Low Countries (I know not in what part) that every five and thirty years the same kind and suit of 60 years and weathers comes again, as great frosts, great wet, great droughts, warm winters, summers with little heat, and the like, and they call it the *prime*. It is a thing I do the rather mention, because, computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.

But to leave these points of nature, and to come to men. The greatest vicissitude of things amongst men, is the vicissitude of sects and religions. For those orbs rule in men's minds most. The true religion is built upon the rock, the

70 rest are tossed upon the waves of time To speak therefore of the causes of new sects, and to give some counsel concerning them, as far as the weakness of human judgment can give stay to so great revolutions

When the religion formerly received is rent by discords, and when the holiness of the professors of religion is decayed and full of scandal, and withal the times be stupid, ignorant, and barbarous, you may doubt the springing up of a new sect, if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange spirit to make himself author thereof All which
80 points held when Mahomet published his law If a new sect have not two properties, fear it not, for it will not spread The one is, the supplanting or the opposing of authority established, for nothing is more popular than that The other is, the giving licence to pleasures and a voluptuous life For as for speculative heresies, (such as were in ancient times the Arians, and now the Arminians,) though they work mightily upon men's wits, yet they do not produce any great alterations in states, except it be by the help of civil occasions There be three manner of plantations of new
90 sects By the power of signs and miracles, by the eloquence and wisdom of speech and persuasion, and by the sword For martyrdoms, I reckon them amongst miracles, because they seem to exceed the strength of human nature and I may do the like of superlative and admirable holiness of life Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms, than to reform abuses, to compound the smaller differences, to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions, and rather to take off the principal authors by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence
100 and bitterness

The changes and vicissitudes in wars are many, but chiefly in three things, in the seats or stages of the war, in the weapons, and in the manner of the conduct Wars, in ancient time, seemed more to move from east to west, for the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars, (which were the

invaders,) were all eastern people It is true, the Gauls were western , but we read but of two incursions of theirs , the one to Gallo-Giæcia, the other to Rome But East and West have no certain points of heaven , and no more have the wars, either from the east or west, any certainty of 110 observation But North and South are fixed , and it hath seldom or never been seen that the far southern people have invaded the northern, but contrariwise Whereby it is manifest that the northern tract of the world is in nature the more martial region be it in respect of the stars of that hemisphere, or of the great continents that are upon the north, whereas the south part, for aught that is known, is almost all sea , or (which is most apparent) of the cold of the northern parts, which is that which, without aid of discipline, doth make the bodies hardest, and the courages 120 warmest

Upon the breaking and shivering of a great state and empire, you may be sure to have wars For great empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the forces of the natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own protecting forces , and then when they fail also, all goes to ruin, and they become a prey So was it in the decay of the Roman empire , and likewise in the empire of Almaigne, after Charles the Great, every bird taking a feather , and were not unlike to befall to Spain, if it should break The 130 great accessions and unions of kingdoms do likewise stir up wars for when a state grows to an over-power, it is like a great flood, that will be sure to overflow As it hath been seen in the states of Rome, Turkey, Spain, and others Look when the world hath fewest barbarous peoples, but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know means to live, (as it is almost every where at this day, except Tartary,) there is no danger of inundations of people but when there be great shoals of people, which go on to populate, without foreseeing means of life and sustentation, it is of 140 necessity that once in an age or two they discharge a portion

of their people upon other nations, which the ancient northern people were wont to do by lot, casting lots what part should stay at home, and what should seek their fortunes. When a warlike state grows soft and effeminate, they may be sure of a war. For commonly such states are grown rich in the time of their degenerating, and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a war.

As for the weapons, it hardly falleth under rule and obser-
 150 vation yet we see even they have returns and vicissitudes. For certain it is, that ordnance was known in the city of the Oxidraques in India, and was that which the Macedonians called thunder and lightning, and magic. And it is well known that the use of ordnance hath been in China above two thousand years. The conditions of weapons, and their improvements, are, first, the fetching afar off, for that outruns the danger, as it is seen in ordnance and muskets. Secondly, the strength of the percussion, wherein likewise ordnance do exceed all armetations and ancient inventions.
 160 The third is, the commodious use of them, as that they may serve in all weathers, that the carriage may be light and manageable, and the like.

For the conduct of the war at the first, men rested
 extremely upon number. they did put the wars likewise
 upon main force and valour, pointing days for pitched fields,
 and so trying it out upon an even match, and they were
 more ignorant in ranging and arraying their battles. After
 they grew to rest upon number rather competent than vast,
 they grew to advantages of place, cunning diversions, and the
 like. and they grew more skilful in the ordering of their
 170 battles.

In the youth of a state, arms do flourish, in the muddle
 age of a state, learning, and then both of them together for
 a time, in the declining age of a state, mechanical arts and
 merchandize. Learning hath his infancy, when it is but
 beginning and almost childish. then his youth, when it is
 luxuriant and juvenile. then his strength of years, when it

is solid and reduced and lastly, his old age, when it waxeeth
 dry and exhaust But it is not good to look too long upon
 these turning wheels of vicissitude, lest we become giddy 180
 As for the philology of them, that is but a circle of tales, and
 therefore not fit for this writing

LIX. A FRAGMENT OF AN ESSAY ON FAME

THE poets make Fame a monster They describe her in part
 finely and elegantly, and in part gravely and sententiously
 They say, look how many feathers she hath, so many eyes
 she hath underneath, so many tongues, so many voices,
 she pricks up so many ears

Thus is a flourish There follow excellent parables, as
 that she gathereth strength in going that she goeth upon
 the ground, and yet hideth her head in the clouds that in
 the day-time she sitteth in a watch-tower, and flieth most by
 night that she mingleth things done with things not done 10
 and that she is a terror to great cities But that which
 passeth all the rest is, they do recount that the earth, mother
 of the Giants that made war against Jupiter and were by him
 destroyed, thereupon in an anger brought forth Fame, for
 certain it is that rebels figured by the giants, and seditious
 fames and libels, are but brothers and sisters, masculine and
 feminine. But now, if a man can tame this monster, and
 bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her
 fly other ravening fowl and kill them, it is somewhat worth 20
 But we are infected with the style of the poets To speak
 now in a sad and serious manner There is not in all the
 politics a place less handled, and more worthy to be handled,
 than this of fame We will therefore speak of these points
 What are false fames, and what are true fames, and how
 they may be best discerned, how fames may be sown and
 raised, how they may be spread and multiplied, and how
 they may be checked and laid dead And other things con-

cerning the nature of fame Fame is of that force, as there is scarcely any great action wherein it hath not a great part, especially in the war Mucianus undid Vitellius, by a fame that he scattered, that Vitellius had in purpose to remove the legions of Syria into Germany, and the legions of Germany into Syria, whereupon the legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed Julius Caesar took Pompey unprovided, and laid asleep his industry and preparations, by a fame that he cunningly gave out, how Caesar's own soldiers loved him not, and being wearied with wars, and laden with the spoils of Gaul, would forsake him as soon as he came into Italy Livia settled all things for the succession of her son Tiberius, by continual giving out that her husband Augustus was upon recovery and amendment And it is an usual thing with the bashaws, to conceal the death of the great Turk from the Janizaries and men of war, to save the sacking of Constantinople and other towns, as their manner is Themistocles made Xerxes King of Persia post apace out of Grecia, by giving out that the Grecians had a purpose to break his bridge of ships which he had made athwart Hellespont There be a thousand such like examples, and the more they are, the less they need to be repeated, because a man meeteth with them every where Therefore let all wise governors have as great a watch and care over fames, as they have of the actions and designs themselves

The rest was not finished

NOTES

[N B —The letter W appended to a note shows that it is borrowed from Mr Aldis Wright, to whose edition of the Essays I am much indebted]

ESSAY I OF TRUTH

1. Pilate, the Roman governor of Judæa, before whom Christ was tried and condemned to death. He is introduced simply as a type of the sceptical. In the first paragraph of this Essay *Truth* is opposed to error, not, as in the second paragraph, to lying. In the *Adv*, bk 1 1 3, Bacon says that truth is attainable. Here he says that men do not care to know it. He implies—as he does also in the *Adv*, bk 11 13 4—that men prefer the freedom of scepticism to the monotony of a fixed belief, and that they deliberately reject the truth in favour of opinions which satisfy their vanity, their caprices, or their imagination.

2. there be that, there are some who. *Be* is frequently used for *are*. Abbott (*Sh Gr* § 300) notes the use of it to refer to a number of persons considered as a kind or class.

giddiness, constant change of opinion. count, consider

3. affecting, aiming at, desiring. It is used like the Latin *affectare*. We use it to mean 'to assume' or 'pretend to'. Similarly 'affectation' means 'pretence' as in Essay xxxviii 41. In the *Adv*, bk 11 20 9, he refers to Herillus, who "placed felicity in extinguishment of the disputes of the mind, making no fixed nature of good and evil, esteeming things according to the clearness of the desires, or the reluctance, which opinion was revived in the heresy of the Anabaptists, measuring things according to the motions of the spirit, and the constancy or wavering of belief."

4. sects, alluding to the various sceptical schools of philosophy in Greece.

6. discoursing, unsteady. In the *Adv*, bk 11 7 7, he uses the word *discoursing* in the sense of 'continually shifting,' the metaphor being taken from treacherous ground. wits, minds

which are of the same veins, etc., i. e. they preach scepticism like the ancient philosophers, but they cannot support their scepticism by such good arguments. Cf *Adv*, bk 11 13 4. The word 'vein' signifies 'disposition' or 'inclination.'

10 imposeth upon, restrains The Latin word *imponere* means to lay (a yoke) upon

in, We should say 'into'

12 One of the later, etc He probably refers to the *Philopseudes* of Lucian (W) He was a satirist and humourist born at Samosata on the Euphrates about 125 A D

13 is at a stand, etc, cannot understand why it is that

14 they make for pleasure, see the account of Poetry given in *Adv*, bk 11 4

make for, conduce to

16 I cannot tell, I know not how it is

this same truth, etc Truth dispels pleasing illusions, as daylight reveals the tinsel of the stage

17 masks, etc. See Essay xxxvii

18 stately, used as an adverb

19 Truth may perhaps, etc Truth, which is unchanging, wants the charm of variety

25 as one would, arbitrary

27 displeasing, unpleasant

29 the wine of devils, cf *Adv*, bk 11 22 13 Ellis says that the expression is made up of the saying of Augustine that poetry is *the wine of error*, and the saying of Hieronymus, that it is *the food of demons* By the Fathers he means those priests of the early Church whose writings have been accepted as authoritative on matters of doctrine

35 which only doth judge itself, only those who have sought, found, and enjoyed the truth, know what its value is

37 knowledge, In the Latin translation this word is rendered "the receiving and assenting to what is true", while 'belief' is rendered "the enjoyment and embracing of the truth"

39 creature, often used by Bacon in the sense of 'a created thing'

41 his sabbath work, his occupation during the leisure (Sabbath) which he has enjoyed since the work of creation was finished Cf Bacon's *Confession of Faith*, "I believe that as at the first the soul of man was not produced of heaven or earth, but was breathed immediately from God so that the ways and proceedings of God with spirits are not included in nature, that is in the laws of heaven or earth, but are reserved to the law of his secret will and grace so that God worketh still, and resteth not from the work of redemption as he doth from the work of creation but continueth working to the end of the world, at

what time that work also shall be accomplished, and an eternal Sabbath shall ensue ' See Essay xi 38

42. the illumination of his spirit, i. e. the illumination of men's minds by means of his spirit Similarly in *Adv*, bk ii 1 13 he calls God "the Father of illuminations or lights" Similarly, in a prayer which he has left, he says "Thou, O Father, who gavest the visible light as the first-born of thy creatures, and didst pour into man the intellectual light as the top and consummation of thy workmanship, be pleased to protect and govern this work, which coming from thy goodness, returneth to thy glory" and again, "Illuminate the eyes of our mind and understanding with the bright beams of thy Holy Spirit" So Milton, in his invocation to the Holy Spirit, says, "What in me is dark, illumine" and again, "So much the rather thou, Celestial Light, Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers Irradiate" *Par Los'*, bk i 22, and bk iii 51

43 the matter, we should omit the article Cf Essay lviii 11

45 the poet, Lucretius, born about B C 95 He wrote a poem "on the nature of things," explaining and defending the atomistic philosophy

beautified, was an ornament to

46 the sect, viz., the Epicureans

otherwise, etc., in all respects but their zeal for truth Bacon condemns the atheism of the Epicureans, cp Essay xvi and *Adv*, bk ii 6 1, and also their doctrine that pleasure is the highest good, *Adv*, bk ii 20 9 He praises the method of the Atomists, *Adv*, bk ii 7 7 Epicurus, who was an atomist in physics, and a Hedonist in ethics, was born B C 342

51 not to be commanded, which has an advantage over every other

53 so that, provided that

56 move in charity, as the stars do in their spheres See note on Essay xv. 58 Charity should be our sole motive the element in which we live should be habitual acquiescence in the divine will all our reasonings should rest upon truths Dante ends his poem by saying that supreme blessedness consists in the total surrender of our will to God's will "But already my will and desires were being turned, like a wheel in even motion, by the Love which moves the sun and stars in heaven" For the metaphor of the poles of truth, cf *Adv*, bk ii 14 2, "The nature of man doth extremely covet to have somewhat in his understanding fixed and immovable, and as a rest and support of the mind And therefore, as Aristotle endeavoureth to prove, that in all motion there is some point quiescent, and as he

elegantly expoundeth the ancient fable of Atlas (that stood fixed, and bare up the heaven from falling) to be meant of the poles or axle tree of heaven, whereupon the conversion is accomplished, so assuredly men have a desire to have an Atlas or axle tree within to keep them from fluctuation, which is like to a perpetual peril of falling. Therefore men did hasten to set down some principles about which the variety of their disputations might turn."

60 clear and round, honest and straightforward Cf 'clearness of dealing,' Essay vi 30 For round, cf Essay vi 97

63 ombaseth, deteriorates

64 the serpent, Satan tempted Eve in the form of a serpent, so the serpent is taken as the type of deceit Bacon is referring to the words of the curse pronounced upon the serpent by God after the temptation, "Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life," *Gen* iii 14

67 Montaigne, *Essays*, bk ii 18 He was a French writer in the sixteenth century

76 when Christ cometh, namely, for the final judgment of mankind See *Iule* xviii 8, where however faith means, not good faith, but belief in God Cf Essay xx 85

ESSAY II OF DEATH

3 The wages of sin, a Scriptural expression Death was imposed as a penalty upon mankind for the sin of Adam and Eve

7 You shall read, you will find Abbott points out that *shall* properly connoted obligation or compulsion "You *shall* see," he says, "was especially common in the meaning 'you will' applied to what is of common occurrence, or so evident that it cannot but be seen" *Sh Gr* § 315

13 quickest of sense, most sensitive

14 only as a philosopher, etc, i.e., uninformed by the light of revelation

16 The accompaniments of death, etc, probably suggested by a passage in Seneca's *Epistles* (IV) Seneca was a Roman philosopher and dramatist of the first century A.D.

18 blacks, mourning

19 shew, make it appear

20 mates, overpowers.

23 of him, from death

25 pre occupateth, anticipates, viz. by suicide

Otho, see Tacitus, *Hist*, ii 49 The Roman Emperor Otho committed suicide after his defeat by the army of Vitellius at Bedriacum, A D 69

29 Seneca, cf *Adv*, bk ii 21 1

niceness, fastidiousness

32 upon a weariness to do, because tired of doing

34 in good spirits, in noble and strong minds

36 Augustus Cæsar, etc This story, and the one given below about Vespasian, are quoted from Suetonius He lived A D 75 160, and wrote biographies of the Cæsars He does not give a chronological account of events, but divides each biography into sections, one dealing with the Emperor's virtues and vices, another with his mode of life, another with his personal peculiarities, etc Cf "When I read in Tacitus the actions of Nero and Claudius, with circumstances of time, inducements, and occasions, I find them not so strange, but when I read them in Suetonius Tranquillus, gathered into titles and bundles and not in order of time, they seem more monstrous and incredible" *Adv*, bk ii 8 5

38 Tiberius succeeded Augustus as Roman Emperor Tacitus was a Roman historian, born about the year 54 A D

41 - Vespasian, Roman Emperor, A D 69 79

43 Galba, Roman Emperor, A D 68 9 He was killed by insurgent troops in the capital Tacitus, *Hist*, i 41

44 strike, addressed by Galba to his murderers

45 Septimius Severus, Roman Emperor, A D 193 211

48 the Stoics, see note on Essay i 2 The name is derived from the stoa, or porch, in which Zeno lectured

bestowed too much cost upon, made too much of

49 Better saith he, etc Juvenal, *Satire* x 358 Cf *Adv*, bk ii 21 5, and bk i 8 1

57 dolours, pain It is a Latin word Cf "I esteem it the office of a physician to mitigate pain and dolours" *Adv* bk ii 10 7

58. Now lettest thou, etc A Jew named Simcon, having lived long enough to see Christ, expressed his willingness to die in a passage beginning "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace," *Luke* ii 29

61 He who, etc Horace, *Ep*, ii 1 14

ESSAY III OF UNITY IN RELIGION

IN illustration of this Essay the student should read the *Adv*, bk 1 1, and bk 11 6 and 25 Here Bacon expresses strongly his aversion to theological controversy He held that the dogmas of religion do not admit either of discovery or proof by human reason They are revealed, and are to be taken on faith There is therefore no room for controversy as to the first principles of theology Human reason may be legitimately and usefully employed in deducing what is involved in the text of Scripture, but human reasonings are not to be put on the same level with the positive declarations of Scripture Bacon would allow perfect freedom of judgment, limited only by the express words of the Bible The subject of religious controversies was an important one at the time, owing to the disputes between the High Church and the Puritanical parties See Spedding's *Francis Bacon and His Times*, vol 1, pp 17, 35, and 429

2 contained, held together A broken band will hold nothing together

4 The reason was, etc Cf *Adv*, bk 11 25 4, "The religion of the heathen had no constant belief or expression, but left all to the liberty of argument"

7 doctors, teachers, cf below, 1 29 Bacon means that the religious beliefs of the Greeks and Romans consisted of myths drawn from the poets He has some remarks on the origin and interpretation of myths in *Adv*, bk 11 4 4 See note on Essay 1 14

9 jealous, the attribute is taken from one of the commandments given by God to the Jews

17 For, as regards

19 manners, morals. "It were perhaps edifying to remark what a singular thing customs (in Latin *mores*) are, and how fitly the virtue, *vir tus*, manhood or worth, that is in a man, is called his *morality* or *customariness* Fell slaughter, one of the most authentic products of the Pit you would say, once give it customs, becomes War, with laws of War, and is customary and moral enough" Carlyle

24 Behold, he is in the desert, Christ told his disciples that false Christs should arise, and addressed to them the following warning, "Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert, go not forth behold, he is in the secret chambers, believe it not" Bacon understands the warning to have reference not to the appearance of individuals, each of whom should claim to be Christ, but to the multiplication of sects, each of which should claim the exclusive possession of the truth about Christ. There can be but one true belief and men still need the warning

not to go forth from the Church and set up heresies of their own in place of this belief. Cf "It was foretold by Christ saying, *that in the latter times it should be said, Lo, here, lo, there is Christ* which is to be understood, not as if the very person of Christ should be assumed and counterfeited, but his authority and pre-eminence, which is to be the truth itself, should be challenged and pretended." *Of Church Controversies*

29 The Doctor, i.e. St Paul

30 propriety, peculiarity The Latin word *proprius* (proper) signifies that which belongs to a thing in its own right Hence the logical term *property*, in the sense of a *distinguishing mark*

31 those without, those who are not members of the Church

36 the chair of the scorners, *Psalm 11*

37 vouched, quoted as evidence He is alluding to Rabelais, a French humourist of the fifteenth century Cf "I or precedents, in the producing and using of that kind of proof, of all others it behoveth them to be faithfully vouched" *Case of the Post-nati of Scotland*

40 morris dance, a dance formerly common in England on festival days, and especially on May day, and not yet entirely out of use. The name appears to indicate that it was borrowed from the Morriscos or Moors, but nothing is known of its origin (W.)

43 politics, politicians

44 within, those who are members of the Church

51 importeth, is of importance

52 zelants, zealots

54 is not the matter, is not what they are interested in The words quoted above were addressed by Jehu to the messengers of Joram king of Israel, whom he was marching to attack *Kings ii 10 40*

55 following, &c

56 accommodate, come to an agreement about, effect a compromise.

Laodiceans, in *Revelation iii 14*, the Church of Laodicea is rebuked for lukewarmness

57 witty, ingenious Cf *Eccl 1 xxii 1* and *xl 1*

58 arbitrement, arbitration

61 the two cross clauses, the Latin translation has the clauses which at first sight seem to contradict one another In the *Ade. bk ii 27* it is said that the heat of controversy would be abated if the points fundamental, and the points of further perfection only were with pity and with

distinguished—for “we see of the fundamental points, our Saviour penneth the league thus, *He that is not with us is against us*, but of points not fundamental, thus, *He that is not against us is with us*.” Christians must agree upon essential points, and lukewarmness as to these is unpardonable. But variety of opinion upon unessential points is admissible. For example, different forms of Church government and different forms of ritual and worship are allowable, since no definite rule as to these is laid down in the Bible. Cf. “*We contend about ceremonies and things indifferent, about the external policy and government of the Church, in which kind if we would but remember that the ancient and true bonds of unity are one faith, one baptism, and not one ceremony, one policy* if we would observe the league amongst Christians that is penned by our Saviour, *he that is not against us is with us* if we could but comprehend that saying, *the diversities of ceremonies do set forth the unity of doctrine, and that religion hath parts which belong to eternity, and parts which pertain to time*, and if we did but know the virtue of silence, and slowness to speak, commended by St James, our controversies of themselves would close up and grow together, but most especially if we would leave the over warming and turbulent humours of these times and revive the blessed proceeding of the Apostles and Fathers of the primitive church, which was, in the like and greater cases, not to enter into assertions and positions, but to deliver counsels and advices, we should need no other remedy at all, brother, if that which you set down as an assertion you would deliver by way of advice, then were reverence due to your counsel, whereas faith is not due to your affirmation. St Paul was content to speak thus, *I, and not the Lord* and, according to my counsel. But now men do too lightly say, *Not I, but the Lord* yea, and bind it with a heavy denunciation of his judgments, to terrify the simple, which have not sufficiently understood out of Solomon that *the careless curse shall not come*.”

66 merely, used in its literal sense of ‘purely,’ ‘entirely.’ The Latin word *merus* meant ‘unmixed,’

good intention. In a letter to Essex Bacon says, “And for the other point, that is the proceeding, like a good Protestant, upon express warrant, and not upon good intention, your lordship in your wisdom knoweth that as it is most fit for you to desire convenient liberty of instructions, so it is no less fit for you to observe the due limits of them.” Cf. Essay xii 35. The enforcement of the colliery of the priesthood in the Romish church is based on ‘good intention’ only. It is not distinctly prescribed in Scripture.

68 less partially. The Latin translation has “with less of party feeling.”

75 Christ's coat, etc After the passage quoted in the note on l 61 Bacon continues, "So we see the coat of our Saviour was entire without seam, and so is the doctrine of the Scriptures in itself, but the garment of the Church was of divers colour and yet not divided." Unity as to essential points is consistent with difference as to unessential points. It is said in the Bible that the coat of Christ was made of one piece, but that the garment of the Queen, who is made to represent the Church, was of divers colours. The seamless coat of Christ symbolizes the unity of the Church as to essential points. The variegated garment of the Church symbolizes the legitimate variety of opinion and practice in minor matters. The metaphor of the coat is worked out in Swift's *Tale of a Tub*. The analogy between clothes and opinions is borrowed by Carlyle in his *Sartor Resartus*.

78 be, see note on Essay i 2.

83 shall, we should say 'will' See note on Essay ii 7

88 doth not discern, the 'not' should be omitted

94 Avoid profane novelties, etc Cf *Adv* bk i n 5

95 are not, do not exist. Cf Essay xvii 13

96 whereas the meaning, etc Language should be the instrument of thought, but if men suppose that wherever there are two distinct terms there must be two distinct things corresponding to them, then thought is the slave of language Cf *Adv* ii 14 11

100 all colours, etc Just as the inharmoniousness of a combination of colours is not apparent in the dark, so the incompatibility of opinions is not apparent to one whose mind is darkened by ignorance. Swift in the *Tale of a Tub* says, "Martin (Luther) and Jack (Calvin), i.e. the Reformed Church and the Dissenters, had lived in much friendship and agreement under the tyranny of their brother Peter, (the Romish Church), as it is the talent of fellow-sufferers to do men in misfortune being like men in the dark, to whom all colours are the same but when they came forward into the world, and began to display themselves to each other and to the light, their complexions appeared extremely different, which the present posture of affairs gave them sudden opportunity to discover."

101 pieced, as we say *patched up*

104 Nebuchadnezzar's image, the image which King Nebuchadnezzar saw in a dream See *Daniel* ii 33. Men may agree in a belief simply because the inconsistency or inadequacy of it is not apparent to themselves. Such uniformity is valueless. Or again, they may purchase an artificial unity by admitting contradictory beliefs on essential points whereas unity, to be real, must be based upon a clear understanding and acceptance of the fundamental doctrines of Scripture.

107 muniting, strengthening The Latin word *munire* means *to fortify*

109 be, see Essay 1 2

113 that is to propagate, these words explain the meaning of the phrase "to take up Mahomet's sword"

115 practice, intrigue

120 so to consider, etc Zeal for Christianity must be tempered by regard for our duty to men Church and state have each legitimate modes of protecting Christianity, but proselytizing zeal is no excuse for persecution or rebellion The first violates the rights of others, the second is directed against the divine institution of government The phrase "dash the first table against the second" is suggested by the statement in the Bible that the Jewish law was delivered by God to Moses written on two tables of stone The first table defined man's duty to God, the second his duty to man Cf "The Scripture teacheth us to judge and denominate men religious according to their works of the second table, because they of the first are often counterfeit, and practised in hypocrisy So St John saith, that a man doth vainly boast of loving God whom he never saw, if he love not his brother whom he hath seen And St James saith, This is true religion, to visit the fatherless and the widow" Of Church Controversies

121 Lucretius, l 95 See Note on Essay 1 45 The Greeks, on their way to attack Troy, were detained through the wrath of Diana by contrary winds at Aulis Agamemnon, the Greek leader, sacrificed his daughter to propitiate the goddess

126 the massacre in France, alluding to the massacre of the Protestants on St Bartholomew's day in 1572

128 Epicure, Epicurean See note on Essay 1 46. Cf xvi 33

132 the Anabaptists, see Adv bk 11 20 9 This sect came into prominence in the fifteenth century They carried to extreme lengths the principles of the independence of the individual judgment and the importance of individual conviction in religion They came into violent conflict with the constituted authorities in Germany through their attempts to establish an ideal Christian commonwealth with absolute equality, and community of goods Bacon in one of his charges says "The Anabaptists prefer the putting down of magistrates and they can chant the Psalm, *I'll bind their lions in chains, and their nobles in fetters of iron* This is the glory of the saints, much like the temporal authority that the Pope challengeth over princes But this is the difference, that that (viz. the religious zeal of the Mahomedans) is a furious and fanatical fury, and this is a sad and solemn mischief he imagineth himself as a law, a law like mischief"

137 I will ascend, etc., *Isaiah* xiv 14 Cf *Acts* ii 22 15
 "Aspiring to be like God in power, the angels transgressed and fell *I will ascend and be like the Highest*"

134 to personate, to assign a character to The Latin word *persona* means literally the mask in which an actor played, and so a part or character bring him in, like a character on the stage.

135 the Prince of darkness, Satan, the spirit of evil

140 the likeness of a dove, referring to the account of the baptism of Jesus, in which it is said that, as he came out of the water, the Spirit was seen to descend upon him in the likeness of a dove

145 Mercury rod. The god Mercury was represented with a rod in his hand leading departed spirits to the other world

148 would be, ought to be

151 father, see Note on Essay i 20

153 interested, the old form of *interested*

ESSAY IV OF REVENGE

1 wild, used in the sense of *natural* (cf Essay xlv 164), as opposed to the condition of a civilized society

4 putteth the law out of office, usurps the function of law Wrongs should be punished, not by the sufferers of them, but by the properly constituted tribunals

10 trifle with themselves, the Latin translation adds "and distress themselves to no purpose"

15 merely, see note on Essay iii 66 The Latin translation has 'out of pure ill nature'

16 why? What then?

20 Else a man's enemy, etc., *sc*, otherwise while the party wronged inflicts only one punishment on his enemy, he himself has to endure both the original injury and the penalty for illegal revenge

26. Cosmus, Duke of Florence in the sixteenth century

27 neglecting, negligent

30 we are commanded, so by Christ

31 Job, a person whose history is given in the Bible He was distinguished by his patience and piety under misfortune

33 And so of friends, etc., and the same applies, in some manner, to friends If we accept good at their hands, we must some times be content to accept evil too

37 *Cæsar*, i. e., *Julius Cæsar*, a Roman emperor murdered by rebellious soldiers in the second century. *Idem* means that Augustus who avenged the death of *Tiberius*, *Septimius Severus* who avenged the death of *Pertinax*, and *Henry IV* all prospered.

38 *Henry the Third*, the Latin translation has "*that great French King Henry II*." Both *Henry III* and *Henry IV* were assassinated, the one in 1589, the other in 1610.

41 *infortunate* *unfortunate*. The same form occurs in *Shakespeare*. See *King John*, ii. 175. In the *Adv* (bk. ii. 1-4) *Bacon* expresses himself cautiously with regard to witchcraft. "Neither am I of opinion in this history of travels that superstitious narrations of sorceries, witchcrafts, dreams, divinations, and the like, when there is an assurance and clear evidence of the fact, be altogether excluded. For it is not yet known in what cases and how far effects attributed to superstition do participate of natural causes and therefore however the practice of such things is to be condemned yet from the speculation and consideration of them light may be taken, not only for the discerning of the offences but for the further disclosing of nature." As for the law, *Bacon* says in one of his charges, "For witchcraft, by the former law it was not death, except it were actual and gross invocation of evil spirits, or making covenant with them, or taking away life by witchcraft but now by an act in his Majesty's times, charms and sorceries in certain cases of procuring of unlawful love or bodily hurt and some others, are made felony the second offence the first being imprisonment and pillory."

ESSAY V OF ADVRSITY

1 *high*, The word connotes presumptuousness or exaggeration. Cf. *Essays* xix. 133 and xxvii. 190.

2 *the Stoics*, *Zeno*, born about 340, was the founder of the Stoic school. The Stoics held that the end of man's life is virtue. Consequently they inculcated indifference to all external objects which came into competition with virtue.

5 *miracles* suggested by the phrase 'to be admired' (*mirabilia*) in the preceding sentence.

8 *It is true greatness*, etc. Cf. *Adv*, bk. ii. 20-5.

9 *security*, freedom from care. It is a Latinism.

11 *transcendences*, exaggerations.

14 *mystery*, a hidden meaning. In *Adv*, bk. ii. 4-1, *Bacon* describes *poesy parabolical*, "that is, when the secrets and mysteries of religion, policy, or philosophy, are involved in fables or parables." In heathen *poesy* we see the exposition of fables.

doth fall out sometimes with great felicity Nevertheless in many the like encounters, I do rather think that the fable was first, and the exposition devised, than that the moral was first and thereupon the fable framed but yet that all the fables and fictions of the poets were but pleasure and not signification, I interpose no opinion Surely of those poets which are now extant, even Homer himself (notwithstanding he was made a kind of scripture by the later schools of the Grecians), yet I should without any difficulty pronounce that his fables had no such inwardness in his own meaning But what they might have upon a more original tradition, is not easy to affirm, for he was not the inventor of many of them In the Latin translation Bacon expresses a more decided preference for the opinion that the myths were, from the first, consciously allegorical Read the Preface to *The Wisdom of the Ancients* The substance of the theory there expressed is that "long before the days of Homer and Hesiod a generation of wise men had flourished on the earth, who taught the mysteries of nature in parables, that after they and what they taught had alike passed away and been forgotten, the names and incidents of these parables still floated in tradition but that they were then taken merely for tales of old times, and falling into the hands of poets and minstrels were altered, adorned, and added to at pleasure, without regard to the original meaning till they settled into the shape in which we find them The problem, therefore, was to get rid of the overgrowths and to recover and interpret the original parable," Spedding, *Francis Bacon and His Times*, vol 1 p 564 On this subject see also Sir Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, bk 1 ch 6

16 Hercules, In another passage Bacon interprets this myth as presenting "an image of God the Word hastening in the frail vessel of the flesh to redeem the human race" See *The Wisdom of the Ancients*, § 26

18 lively, cf *stately*, Essay 1 18

19 thorough, through

20 to speak in a mean, to come down from grandiloquent to moderate language

21 Prosperity, etc The Old Testament constantly promises worldly prosperity as the reward of obedience to God's law In the New Testament, which supplements the Old (*carrieth the clearer revelation of God's favour*), and promises greater blessings, (its blessing *carrieth the greater benediction*) the disciples of Christ are constantly told that it will be one of their privileges to suffer for the sake of their religion

26 David's harp, etc, *the Psalms*—a collection of hymns forming one of the books of the Bible

27 the pencil of the Holy Ghost, referring to the doctrine that the writers of the sacred books were directly inspired by God

30 distastes, annoyances The sadness of the unfortunate is relieved by the brightness of hope and consolation, while fears and distastes poison the pleasures of the prosperous

36 like precious odours, as the scent of spices becomes stronger as we crush them, so the inherent strength of a man manifests itself the more as he is pressed by adversity

37 incensed, burned Cf *Adv*, bk 11 25, "The good, if any be, is due as the fat of the sacrifice, to be incensed to the honour, first of the Divine Majesty, etc"

38 discover, bring to light

ESSAY VI OF SIMULATION AND DISSIMULATION

1 Dissimulation, etc He means that dissimulation is a poor substitute for policy, and is habitually employed only by those who are wanting in ability and decision With the whole of this passage the student should compare *Adv*, bk 11 23-36, where he says that of these deep dissimulations "it seemeth Tacitus made this judgment, that they were a cunning of an inferior form in regard of true policy, attributing the one to Augustus, the other to Tiberius, when speaking of Livia, he saith, *She combined the diplomacy of her husband (Augustus) with the dissimulation of her son (Tiberius)*" In the same passage he points out how dissemblers must often fail, because even their friends can give no assistance to men whose intentions and actions they do not understand

2 asketh, requires wit, cf Essay 1 6

4 politics, politicians

5 Tacitus saith, Bacon means that the distinction between policy and dissimulation is marked in the contrast which Tacitus draws between Augustus and Tiberius *Tac Ann*, v 1 For Tacitus, see note on Essay 11 38

sorted, suited, agreed with

12 several, distinct

13 that as, such that

15 at half lights The Latin translation has "as it were, in twilight" Cf "The king's manner of showing things by pieces and by dark lights so muffled it, that it hath left it almost as a mystery to this day"

19 obtain, we should say attain

20 close, secret. The wise man will 'vary in particulars'—i.e. he will see when openness is expedient, and when secrecy, just as a man with the use of his eyes can see when it is safe, and when dangerous, to walk quickly. But as a blind man must walk slowly everywhere, so he who wants the light of wisdom must always hide his purposes and dissemble. For uniform secrecy and dissimulation are safer than an inopportune betrayal of his intentions.

25 a name, a reputation of, for

26 managed, trained

30 clearness, openness Cf Essay i 60 People naturally look without suspicion upon those who as a rule make no secret of their acts and intentions

34 when a man, etc., when a man gives nobody an opportunity of remarking or inferring what he is Cf "Observation, what he finds." Essay xxx 2.

38 industriously, purposely It is a Latinism

39 That, we should say *what*

40 For, see Essay iii 17, and below, II 61 and 74

43 discovery, disclosure Men are tempted to open their minds to those who have the reputation of being silent

47. kind, manner. Cf Essay xli 99

discharge, unburden

52. futile, talkative The word means literally 'leaky'

55 politic and moral, It is politic or wise because it leads to the knowledge of many things. It is moral because it is becoming, and is, to a certain extent, a safeguard against the habit of lying

56 give his tongue leave to speak, Our looks must not contradict our words. It is of no use, for instance, to express satisfaction in words, if we have already betrayed dissatisfaction by our looks. In the *Adv.*, bk ii 23 3, he says, "A man may destroy the force of his words with his countenance." Cf also *Adv.*, bk ii 23 16

57 discovery, see note on l 43 Notice that it is by the man himself that the disclosure of himself, i.e. of his feelings, is made. Cf Essay li 1, "the revealing of a man's virtue," where it is the man himself who displays his own merits. In making a general remark Bacon uses the word 'a man' where we should use the indefinite 'one'—see Essay vii 7 and 20, "a man shall see," i.e. one may see—and the possessive case of 'a man' is used by him where we should use a reflexive pronoun. For instance, in Essay li 22, the passage beginning "Envy, which is the canker," etc., means "One will most easily extinguish envy by giving out that

his object is merit rather than fame, and by attributing his successes," etc

tracts, traits

63 must be a dissembler, etc Men will insist on drawing from us some explanation of our acts and wishes, so that, if we are unwilling to give a true account of them, we must give a false one If we maintain an obstinate silence, men will draw their own inferences

64 indifferent, neutral The word now expresses not mere neutrality, but positive unconcern In Essay III 28, the word signifies 'a matter of no consequence'

65 between both, viz, openness and dissimulation

68 absurd, "The Latin *absurdus* is applied to the answer given by a deaf man (*surdus*) which has nothing to do with the question, hence it signifies deaf to reason, unreasonable" W

73 the skirts or train of secrecy, it necessarily follows secrecy As we cannot conceal our purposes by absolute silence, we must do so by dissimulation

78 fearfulness, timidity

of, we should say *from* But we still say, That comes *of*, i.e. results from, doing so and so

79 main, great

86 a fair retreat Failure involves loss of reputation But if a man does not acknowledge, or even disclaims desire for, an object, his failing to obtain it will never be known Cp *Adr*, bk II 23 41, "Another precept of this knowledge is, not to engage a man's self peremptorily in anything, though it seem not liable to accident, but ever to have a window to fly out at, or a way to retire following the wisdom in the ancient fable of the two frogs, which consulted when theirplash was dry whither they should go, and the one moved to go down into a pit, because it was not likely the water would dry there, but the other answered, True, but if it do, how shall we get out again?"

87 take a fall, a metaphor from wrestling

90 turn their freedom, etc, i.e. they will not agree with him even though they do not openly contradict him fair, so we use just adverbially in the sense of *simply*

92 Tell a lie, etc Cp *Adr*, bk II 23 18

97 round direct While the bold man is drawing nearer and nearer to his object, the timid man is wasting time in cunning attempts to conceal the real drift and purpose of his actions In the *Adr*, bk II 23 36, he says that "the continual habit of dissimulation is but a weak and sluggish cunning and not greatly politic"

99 conceals, ideas It is a common use of the term in Bacon

103 composition and temperature, temperament The words mean literally combination and blending Cf Essay xix 29 and 136.

openness in some, a reputation for openness.

105 a power to feign, a power of simulation

ESSAY VII OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN

2 They cannot utter the one, their joys are too great to be expressed in words

nor not, The double negative is common in Bacon

3 sweeten labours, etc Labour is pleasant where there are children to be benefited by it Misfortune is bitter where there are children to be injured by it Children rob death of its terrors because the parents live again, as it were, in their children

7 proper, see note on Essay iii 30

a man shall see, see notes on Essay ii 7 and vi 57

12 are the first raisers of, The Latin translation has, "who first bring honours into their family"

15 creatures, see note on Essay i 39

16 The difference, etc, i.e. the degrees in the love which parents show to their different children

18 A wise son, etc, Prov x 1 He quotes it again, *Adi*, bk ii 23 6 His comment on it in the *De Aug* is, "The father takes more pleasure than the mother in a wise and prudent son, because he understands better the value of virtue, and because he sees in his son's goodness the result of his own training But when the son does not turn out well, the mother is more grieved than the father, partly because of her greater tenderness, partly because she thinks that her own indulgence may have spoilt the boy."

21 made wantons, indulged to excess

25 acquaints, makes acquainted

26 sort with, consort with

27 surfeit more, more prone to luxury and excess

28 the proof is best, the result is best

32 sorteth to issues in

35 so, provided that

42 too much apply themselves to, pay too much regard to Montaigne gives the same advice in his *Essays*, bk 1 ch 25

41 affection, used here in the ordinary sense of 'liking for' a course or vocation

47 Choose what is best, etc A sentence of Pythagoras preserved by Plutarch (W)

48 Younger brothers, etc Being brought up on the understanding that they will have to work for their living, they acquire habits of industry, thrift, and prudence But if they enter unexpectedly into possession of property, they are often ruined by sudden prosperity

ESSAY VIII OF MARRIAGE AND SINGLE LIFE.

1 He that hath, etc The necessity of providing for wife and children prevents a man from running risks of any kind

5 which, We should say *who* Abbott (*Sh Gr* § 266) says that *which*, like *that*, is less definite than *who* *Who* indicates an individual, *which* a "kind of person"

6 It were great reason, etc, we might reasonably suppose Cf *Adv*, bl 11 Introd, "It might seem to have more convenience though it come often otherwise to pass (excellent king) that those which are fruitful in their generations, and have in themselves the fore-sight of immortality in their descendants, should likewise be more careful of the estate of future times, unto which they know they must transmit and commend over their dearest pledges Who does most for posterity—the man with children or the childless man? On the one hand, he who has children will naturally labour for the good of the age in which they will have to live On the other hand, he who is hampered with the cares of a family has less leisure, less freedom, and less wealth than the childless man Moreover the childless man has this further incentive to labour, that he cannot hope to be remembered at all except by the good which he may do, or the reputation which he may establish

9 who their thoughts, The construction is irregular

10 their thoughts, etc, they do not care to be remembered after death

account importuneness, are indifferent to Cf *Adv*, bl 11
29 The word *importuneness* is used in its literal sense of 'a thing importunate'

17 because in order that Abbott (*Sh Gr* § 117) illustrates this use of it as referring to the future not, as with us, to the present

- 17 except, take exception
 20 humorous, fanciful
 21 as, that
 sensible of, sensitive to
 24 light, The word in the Latin translation is the word commonly used to describe a soldier without baggage
 26 churchmen, priests
 28 indifferent, see note on Essay vi 64
 29 facile, easily worked upon In the *Adv*, bk ii 23 6, the term 'facile' is applied to a judge who is a respecter of persons
 30 For, see Essay iii 17
 36 exhaust, This form of the participle is common in Bacon
 37 they, observe the second nominative introduced for the sake of clearness
 40 Ulysses, In *Adv*, bk i 8 7, he mentions Ulysses, "*who preferred an old woman (his wife Penelope) to immortality, being a figure of those which prefer custom and habit before all excellency*" Calypso, an enchantress into whose hands the Greek Ulysses fell on his return from Troy, promised him immortality if he would stay with her He preferred to return to his wife
 48 So as, so that
 a quarrel, a reason The meaning of the word has been extended from a cause of complaint to a cause of any kind
 51 A young man, etc The saying is attributed to Thales of Miletus He was reckoned among the seven wise men of Greece, and was the first Greek philosopher

ESSAY IX OF ENVY

1 affections, feelings or passions

to fascinate, Bacon was inclined to share the opinion that the thoughts, beliefs, and feelings of one person could directly influence and affect the state of another It seems reasonable enough, he says, to suppose that one mind may influence another, just as one body may infect another See *Adv*, bk ii 11 3. In his *Natural History*, Cent x §§ 939 *seqq*, he gives certain experiments "touching the emission of immaterial virtues from the minds and spirits of men, either by affections, or by imaginations, or by other impressions" In § 944 he says, "The affections no doubt do make the spirits more powerful and active and especially those affections which draw the spirits into the eyes which are two, love, and envy, which is called *the evil eye*. As

for love, the Platonists, some of them, go so far as to hold that the spirit of the lover doth pass into the spirits of the person loved which causeth the desire of return into the body whence it was emitted whereupon followeth that appetite of contact and conjunction which is in lovers And this is observed likewise, that the aspects which procure love are not gazings, but sudden glances and dartings of the eye As for envy, that emitteth some malign and poisonous spirit, which taketh hold of the spirit of another and is likewise of greatest force when the cast of the eye is oblique It hath been noted also that it is most dangerous when an envious eye is cast upon persons in glory, in triumph, and joy The reason whereof is, for that at such times the spirits come forth most into the outward parts, and so meet the percusion of the envious eye more at hand and therefore it hath been noted that after great triumphs, men have been ill disposed for some days following We see the opinion of fascination is ancient, for both effects of procuring love, and sickness caused by envy and fascination is by the eye But yet if there be any such infection from spirit to spirit, there is no doubt but that it worketh by presence, and not by the eye alone, yet most forcibly by the eye " It was thought, then, that lovers and envious persons could, when in the presence of those whom they loved or envied, exert a direct influence upon them, the effect being produced by an outflow of the spirits through the eye Men selected the eye as the organ of transmission because of its soft and transparent nature

With regard to the term *spirits*, Bacon held that there is in every tangible substance a body of such extreme rarity as to be perceptible only by its effects, to which he gives the name of *spirit* or the *mortuary spirit*, to distinguish it from the *vital spirit* Both the mortuary and the vital spirit exist in living creatures The latter is a subtle compound of air and fire diffused throughout the body and, so long as it remains in the body, life is preserved Those therefore who wish for long life must keep their bodies in such a state that the vital spirit cannot force its way out But the state of our bodies depends upon the condition and activity of the mortuary spirit, which may be controlled and modified in a number of ways The whole subject is discussed at length in his *History of Life and Death* The influence of the *feelings* upon the spirits, with which we are now most directly concerned, is considered under the heading '*Modes of preserving the youth and freshness of the spirits,*' §§ 80-99

9 still, always

10 ejaculation, used in its literal sense of 'a darting out'

17 curiosities, subtleties Cf *curious* in l 11 In the *Adv*, bk 1 4 6, he uses *curiosity* as synonymous with *subtlety*

23 feed upon, The Latin translation adds, "and find pleasure in"

26 will seek to come at even hand, will endeavour to make his own inferiority appear less. We should say 'to be even with'

depressing, disparaging

30 estate, condition

31 play pleasure, In the Latin translation it is "a pleasure like that of the stage." The mere spectacle delights

34 gadding, wandering The less we go out of our way to study the fortunes of others, the less we shall have to envy The quotation which follows is from the Roman dramatist Plautus, *Stich*, i 3 55

35 home We should say 'at home'

37 new men, a term applied in Rome to the first members of families who held high office

45 wants, defects

in that, This explains the previous sentence—His natural defects will redound to his honour if it be said, etc

47 affecting, see Essay 1 8

48 Narses, A D 472 568, the famous general of the Roman Emperor Justinian.

Agesilaus, King of Sparta in the fourth century B C

Tamberlaine, the great Mongol conqueror He lived in the fourteenth century With this passage of Essay xlv

56 work, matter for envy

59 a vein, see Essay 1 6 Cf *Adit*, bk 1 7 6, "Adrian was the most curious man that lived, and the most universal inquirer, insomuch as it was noted for an error in his mind, that he desired to comprehend all things, and not to reserve himself for the worthiest things, falling into the like humour that was long before noted in Philip of Macedon, who, when he would needs over rule and put down an excellent musician in an argument touching music, was well answered by him again, *God forbid, sir* (saith he), *that your fortune should be so bad as to know these things better than I*"

63 upbraid unto them, reproach them with, a Latinism

incurrere, in its literal sense of 'runs into'

67 Cain. Cain and Abel were two sons of Adam Cain slew Abel in a fit of jealousy because, on an occasion when they both offered a sacrifice to God, that of Abel was accepted while Cain's was rejected

75 liberality, The Latin translation has "rewards which exceed a man's deserts"

84 darken it, throw it into the shade Cf Essay iv 5 Cf

"And you are *darkened* in this action, sir,
Ev'n by your own" Shakespeare, *Coriol*, iv 7

92 travels, labours *Travel* and *travail* were not distinguished

96 politic persons, politicians

102 engrossing, monopolizing

109 being never well, being never satisfied

112 of purpose, purposely

115 so, see note on Essay vii 35

118 disavow fortune, A man who seems ashamed of his position confesses that he has not deserved it

124 the lot, the spell The word 'sorcerer' is derived from *sors*, the Latin word for *lot* It was believed that certain diseases were due to the presence of evil spirits, and that the patient could only be cured if the spirit were charmed out of him and driven into another person, or into some creature or thing For instance, it is narrated in the Bible that Christ cured some men of madness by conjuring the evil spirits out of them into a herd of swine, so transferring the disease from the men to the swine

127 derive, turn aside It is a Latinism

130 undertaking, rash, ready to undertake anything
so, provided that

133 yet, at least

135 an ostracism, the Latin translation has "a healthy ostracism" Ostracism is a Greek word denoting the sentence of banishment sometimes passed upon men whose presence was thought dangerous to the peace of the state The word is derived from *ostrakon*, the oyster shell on which the citizens recorded their votes

144 there is little won, etc, a government gains little by intermingling agreeable and popular acts with its unpopular ones Such concessions are generally attributed to fear, and make the authors of them contemptible rather than popular

145 plausible, used in its literal sense of 'deserving applause' With the whole of this passage cf Essay xv, p 34

148 them, redundant

150 kings and estates, monarchies and republics The same expression is used *Ad*, bk 1 3 6

155 the state itself, the Latin translation has "the king or the state itself"

159 of all other affections, this form of expression is somewhat common in Bacon We should say 'of all the affections'

importune, importunate

168 The envious man, *Matthew* xiii 25

ESSAY X OF LOVE

1 beholding, indebted, beholden. Cf 'loading,' Essay xiii 55, 'owing,' Essay xxx 7

2 is ever matter of comedies, always affords material for a comedy

4 sometimes like a siren, sometimes tempting to self indulgence, sometimes goading to passion Antony illustrates the first case, Othello the second The sirens were women who were believed by the sweetness of their singing to entice to destruction sailors who passed near their island See Homer's *Odyssey*, bk xii 39 and 167

8 great spirits, cf Essay ii 34

11 the decemvir, a member of the Council of Ten to whom the government of Rome was entrusted The story of his attempt upon the chastity of Virginia is told in one of Macaulay's *Lays*

13 inordinate, without self control

17 Epicurus, See note on Essay i 46 In the *Adv*, bk i 3 7, he says, "It is a speech for a lover, and not for a wise man, 'We are a sufficiently large theatre one for another'"

24 braves, The Latin translation has "tramples upon" The word is common in the sense of to treat with contempt or insult

26 Neither is it, etc This extravagance and exaggeration do not appear in the language of lovers only, but in their thoughts also

27 it hath been well said, etc, the quotation is from Plutarch (W)

28 have intelligence, are in league with

31 it is impossible, etc, from the sentences of Publilius Syrus (W), "To love and to be wise is scarcely granted to God" Publilius Syrus was a native of Antioch He lived in the first century n c A collection of moral sentences was made in the Christian era from his plays, and adulterated with sentences from other sources in the beginning of the Middle Ages This saying is quoted again, *Adv*, bk ii 1 15 "But my hope is that if my extreme love to learn

ing carry me too far, I may obtain the excuse of affection, for that it is not granted to man to love and to be wise " Cf Burke, "To tax and to please, no more than to love and to be wise, is not given to man "

35 with the reciproque, with a return of love *Reciproque* in the line above means *mutual*

36 By how much, etc, a Latinism 'for which reason men ought to be more on their guard'

which loseth, which, besides all the sacrifice that it entails, fails of its own object.

39 He that preferred Helena, In the *Adv*, bk 1 8 7, he refers to the judgment of Paris, "that judged for beauty and love against wisdom and power" The story is told in Tennyson's *Enone* The goddess Discord threw into heaven a golden apple, inscribed 'for the fairest' It was claimed by Juno, Minerva, and Venus Paris, a Trojan shepherd, was chosen umpire Each goddess tempted him with a bribe, Juno with power, Minerva with wisdom, Venus with the promise of a beautiful woman He decided in favour of Venus, and was rewarded with the love of Helen, wife of the Greek Menelaus His elopement with her led to the Trojan war

42 quitteth, renounces

hath his floods, is at its height For his, see note on Essay xix 86

times of weakness, the Latin translation has, "at the very times when the mind is most soft and weak" Cf Essay xii 20

47 make it keep quarter, keep it within bounds

49 check with, interfere with

51 no ways, in no way

52 martial men, etc Cf Aristotle's *Politics*, bk 11 ch 6 "The old mythologer would seem to have been right in uniting Ares and Aphrodite (the god of war and the goddess of love), for all warlike races are prone to the love either of men or of women "

60 embaseth, see Essay 1 63

ESSAY XI OF GREAT PLACE

3 so as, see Note on viii 48

5 lose, The Latin translation has "to strip oneself of "

9 The standing is slippery, it is difficult to retain power when it is reached

12. When you are no longer, etc Quoted from Cicero, *Ep ad Fam*, vii 3

14 privateness, life without office
the shadow, retirement. It is a Latin idiom In *Adv*, bk 1. 2 6, he quotes from Seneca, "Some men live so much in the shade that whenever they are in the light they seem to be in trouble" The Latin word for 'in the shadow' is *umbratilis* In his *Praise of Queen Elizabeth*, Bacon talks of "an umbratile life still under the roof"

29 death falls, etc Quoted from the *Thyestes* of Seneca

34 to can, to be able

36 put in act, acted upon

38 motion, activity

conscience, consciousness

45 Sabbath is a Hebrew word signifying rest Cf Essay 1 41 It is said in the Bible that God rested after the work of creating the world, which is described as "very good" Similarly, Bacon says, whoever will imitate God in doing good shall obtain the rest and peace of a satisfied conscience To be "a partaker of God's theatre" means to look on what God looked on, viz good done

46 a globe, a collection He means that from the examples of the past we may devise a body of rules for our own guidance

48 whether thou didst not, etc, whether you have degenerated during your tenure of office

51 taxing, censuring

52 bravery, ostentation

54 Reduce things, etc, i.e go back to the first establishment of things, and consider what modifications of the original rules are required by change of time and circumstances Reduce here has its literal sense of 'carry back'

58 Seek to make, etc In the Latin translation it is, "Strive that all acts done in virtue of the authority which you possess be restrained by fixed rules"

60 positive and peremptory, adhering strictly to rules laid down In the *Adv*, bk 1 2 1, he refers to the opinion that learning makes men "too peremptory or positive by strictness of rules and axioms"

express thyself well, give a clear explanation of your conduct For an illustration of the rule now laid down the student may read the speech delivered by Bacon on taking his seat in Chancery

63 voice it, etc, claim it noisily The Latin translation has "noisily stir up and raise questions about it."

64 of inferior places, of your subordinates

67 the execution of thy place, the performance of the duties of your office Cf above, l 45, "the discharge of thy place"

70 facility, See note on Essay viii 29 For, see Essay iii 17 Cf below, l 86

72 interlace, intermix Finish one thing before beginning another but, etc, unless you are obliged

75 used, practised

83 steal it, do it by stealth

84 inward, intimate A favourite, who apparently possesses no claim to favour, is regarded as an instrument for the secret conveyance of bribes to his master

90 respects, considerations The Latin word *respicere* means to look to, to regard to care for Cf Essay xxx 36, "In sickness respect health" Cf Essay xvi 36, "to have respect to" Cf Essay xiv 13 In the English Bible, we have "God is no respecter of persons"

91 shall never be without, he will always be beset by importunity and idle respects For the quotation see *Prov* xxviii 21

94 A place, etc The saying is attributed to several of the seven wise men of Greece For the quotations which follow see *Tac Hist*, i 49, and i 50 Cf *Adv*, bk ii 22 5

101 sufficiency, ability to rule

affection, see note to Essay ix 1 For manners, see Essay iii 19

102 whom honour amends, If a man is improved by office and authority, it is a sure sign that he possesses a noble mind The construction is irregular

103 honour is or should be, etc Cf *Adv*, bk ii 23 46, "Being without well being is a curse, and the greater the being the greater the curse" Honour, like the Latin *honores*, means office

104 as in nature, etc Cf *Adv*, bk ii 10 2, "So that it is no marvel though the soul so placed enjoy no rest, if that principle be true that *The motion of things is rapid out of their place, and quiet in their place.*"

105 ambition, the struggle for office The Latin word *ambitus* means canvassing

in authority, when the struggle is over and office is won

108 to side himself, to range himself on the side of one faction Cf Essay i.

109 to balance himself, to be neutral When we have

nothing more to gain from a party, why should we support it at the risk of incurring the enmity and opposition of another party?

114. remembering, mindful The Latin translation has, "Do not be too mindful of your place or mention it too often in your daily discourse or private conversation." Men are flattered by the assiduity of the great, who should therefore practise it. For by so doing they win friends whom they may one day need.

116. when he sits in place, when he is discharging the duties of his office

ESSAY XII OF BOLDNESS

1. It, viz. the answer given by Demosthenes
trivial, trite

9. invention, see *Adv*, bk. ii. 13. 6. 10, where he discusses "invention of speech or argument." The use of it, he says, "is no other but out of the knowledge whereof our mind is already possessed, to draw forth or call before us that which may be pertinent to the purpose which we take into our consideration."

11. more of the fool, etc. Cf. *Adv*, ii. 23. 21, "The Italian proverb is elegant, and for the most part true. There is commonly less money, less wisdom, and less good faith than men do account upon."

13. wonderful, see note on Essay i. 18

16. to other parts, The Latin translation has "to the other parts of civil knowledge." The word *civilis* means 'relating to man as a member of a political society.' Bacon discusses 'civil knowledge' in the *Adv*, bk. ii. 23. The sum of his remarks is that men form societies for companionship, profit, and protection. Accordingly 'civil knowledge' has to consider how a man should behave in company, how he may be successful in his undertakings, and how he shall be governed.

21. popular states, democracies

24. Mountebanks, quacks, cf. *Adv*, bk. i. 2. 3, "We see it is accounted an error to commit a natural body to empiric physicians, which commonly have a few pleasing receipts whereupon they are confident and adventurous, but know neither the causes of diseases, nor the complexions of patients, nor peril of accidents, nor the true method of cures, so by like reason it cannot be but a matter of doubtful consequence if states be managed by empiric statesmen not well mingled with men grounded in learning." Cf. Essay i. 4. For *mountebanks*, Sir T. Brown uses the form *saltimbancos* (Lat. saltare in banco), i. e. mounted on benches.

- 27 want, are without
the grounds, the principles
- 37 they, see note on Essay viii 37
- 38 slight it over, make light of it
- 47 stand at a stay, literally, they stand still. For *the spirits* see note on Essay ix 1 The Latin translation has "But bold men, in such a case, are taken by surprise and helpless"
- 48 a stale, stalemate, when by a move of one player the pieces are so placed that his opponent cannot move without exposing one of his pieces to check

ESSAY XIII OF GOODNESS, AND GOODNESS OF NATURE

- 1 affecting, see Essay i 3
- 2 that, cf Essay vi 39
- 4 Goodness is the virtue of benevolence *Goodness of nature* is a natural kindness of disposition With the whole of this passage, cf *Adv*, bk ii. 20 7, and 22 15
- 9 Charity, In the *Adv*, bk i 1 3, he defines charity as the habit of referring everything to the good of men and mankind
no excess but error, explained below, l 20 *seqq*
- 14 inasmuch, etc The Latin translation has "if through want of object or opportunity it cannot be practised towards men"
- 17 as, that Busbechius was a Flemish diplomatist and traveller, 1522 1592
- 18 a Christian boy, The offender was a Venetian goldsmith He caught a bird whose bill, when open, would admit a man's fist, and, by way of a joke, fixed the bird alive over his door, with a stick in its mouth to keep its beak distended (IV) In the Latin translation the story is given correctly
- 19 a waggishness, we should not use the article here
- 22 so good, etc, such a character, for instance, is the good natured man of Goldsmith
- 23 doctors, see note on Essay iii 7
- Machiavel lived 1469 1527 He is the subject of one of Macaulay's *Essays*
- 27 did magnify, notice the omission of the relative *that*
- 30 take knowledge of, notice
- 32 facility, See note on Essay viii 29
- 33 Æsop's cock, cf *Adv*, bk i 8 7 Do not cast your pearls before swine

37 shine, make to shine

39 communicate, see note on Essay viii 36

41 divinity, theology He refers to the commandment of Christ, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself"

43 sell all, etc, a command addressed by Christ to a rich man who asked what he must do to inherit eternal life *Mark* v 21

51 There be that, etc See note on Essay i 2 Cf *Adv*, bk ii 22 4, "So further deserved it to be considered by *Aristotle*, *That there is a disposition in conversation (supposing it in things which do in no sort touch or concern a man's self) to soothe and please, and a disposition contrary to contradict and cross, and deserveth it not much better to be considered, That there is a disposition, not in conversation or talk, but in matter of more serious nature (and supposing it still in things merely indifferent) to take pleasure in the good of another and a disposition contrarywise to take distaste at the good of another? which is that property which we call good nature or ill-nature, benignity or malignity"*

53 difficultness, obstinacy

54 mere, See note on Essay iii 66

55 are in season, i e they flourish on the calamities of others on the loading part, i e they aggravate calamities *Loading* means *laden* Cf Essay x 1

57 Lazarus, *Luke* xvi 21, the name of a beggar in one of Christ's parables, who is represented as lying hungry and sick at a rich man's gate, while the dogs come and lick his sores still, always

60 Timon, Plutarch in his life of Antony says of Timon, a misanthropical Athenian, said to have lived during the Peloponnesian War, that he once addressed the Athenian assembly as follows—"I have a small piece of ground, O Athenians, in which grows a fig tree. Many Athenians have before now hanged themselves on it Being about to build on the ground, I wished to give public notice of the fact, in order that, if any one among you wishes to hang himself, he may do so before the fig tree is cut down" Cf —

"I have a tree which grows here in my close,
That mine own use invites me to cut down,
And shortly must I fell it tell my friends,
Tell Athens, in the sequence of degree
From high to low throughout, that whoso please
To stop affliction, let him take his haste,
Come hither, ere my tree hath felt the axe,
And hang himself"

Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens*, v 1

61 errors. The Latin translation has "sores and ulcers"

62. politiques, politicians

63 knee-timber crooked timber Success in political life requires a peculiar and unnatural hardness of disposition

64 shall stand are meant to stand

74 trash, money The word meant originally 'bits of broken sticks found under trees,' and so generally 'refuse'

75 St. Paul's perfection, etc., i.e. if we are willing to sacrifice our own salvation to secure that of another St Paul in his letter to the *Romans*, ix 3, says, "I could wish that myself were accursed (*anathema*) from Christ for my brethren' Similarly in *Exodus*, xxxii 32, Moses says to God, "Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin well and if not, blot me, I pray thee out of thy book which thou hast written" Cf. *Acts*, bk ii 20-7

that he would this explains in what the perfection consists

ESSAY XIV OF NOBILITY

33 weathers, storms

36 more virtuous, i.e. they possess more eminent qualities. However unscrupulous they may be in the means which they employ, they at least possess the qualities which command success. The Latin word *virtus* means properly 'manly worth'.

42 standeth at a stay, cf. Essay vii 17

44 the passive envy, they are not objects of envy

because they are, The Latin translation has 'because the nobles seem to be born possessed of honour'

46. of amongst

47 a better slide, etc., there will be less friction. The Latin translation has "they will find their business proceed more smoothly."

ESSAY XV OF SEDITIONS AND TROUBLES.

1 calendars, the signs by which sedition may be foretold

2 when things grow to equality, when distinctions of rank disappear. There is of course no real analogy between citizens of equal position and days and nights of equal length. Fanciful analogies of this sort are frequent in Bacon's writings.

9 Given, viz., by the sun. Quoted from Virgil *Georg* i 465

12 false news, etc. The Latin translation has "lying rumours of change bandied about on all sides and eagerly caught up by the people." Before the Indian Mutiny an old prophecy that British power was doomed was revived and given fresh currency.

15 same rumour. Virgil, *Æn.* ii 179. Cf. *Ad.* bk ii 44, where, after quoting the same passage from Virgil, he says the fable is "expounded that when princes and monarchs have suppressed actual and open rebels, then the malignity of people (which is the mother of rebellion) doth bring forth libels and slanders, and taxations of the states, which is of the same kind with rebellion but more feminine." Cf. *The Wisdom of the Ancients*, § 9. The giants of Greek mythology attempted, by piling mountains one upon another, to make a road by which they might reach Jupiter and deprive him of his power.

24 right, see note on Essay i 18

27 plausible, see note on Essay ix 145.

29 envy, cf. Essay ix

Tacitus, *Hist* i 7. The quotation is inaccurate. Tacitus says, "When an emperor is once hated, men find fault with good actions as well as bad."

33 that, redundant

36 going about, constant endeavour

37 Tacitus, *Hist* ii 39 Here again the quotation is inaccurate In the original it is, "The soldiers were ready, but inclined rather to interpret than to obey the orders of their commanders"

41 cavilling upon, The Latin translation has 'eluding by quibbles'

43 assay of, attempt at

44 fearfully and tenderly, timidly and shyly Cf Essay vi 78

48 it is etc In the Latin translation it is, "The same thing happens as when a boat is upset," etc

50 league, The Holy League was organized in 1576 by the Duke of Guise, nominally in defence of the Catholic religion, but really to secure the succession of Catholics to the French throne

53 that, redundant Abbott (*Sh Gr* § 287) says it was affixed like *so* and *as* to words originally interrogative to give them a relative meaning It was then affixed by analogy to other words A king loses authority when obedience to him ceases to be the most sacred duty

57 of, we should say 'for'

59 *primum mobile*, The sovereign is the *primum mobile* of those who are powerful in a state According to the old astronomy the heavenly bodies were set in a series of spheres, having the earth as their common centre The outermost of these spheres was called the *primum mobile* or 'first moved' It completed its revolution in twenty four hours and communicated its motion to the inner spheres The planets had also a slow movement of their own distinct from the rapid motion which the spheres derived from the *primum mobile*. Similarly those who are powerful in a state should be slow and perceptive in "their own particular motion," i.e. in the pursuit of their own ends, but quick to move in obedience to their *primum mobile*, i.e. the sovereign Cf the end of Essay li

60 Every, each Notice the change to the plural in 'their'

61 more freely, inaccurately quoted from Tac *Ann*, iii iv

63 I will loose, etc, *Isaiah* xlv 1 Wright says that the meaning is "who threateneth the dissolving thereof as one of his great judgments"

69 So, the word introduces another sign of approaching trouble

mainly, strongly

72 this part of predictions, this part, viz. predictions.

79 bear it, permit it

80 if there be fuel, etc Cf the saying of Aristotle that trifling events are often the occasion but never the cause of sedition Cf Essay xiv. 44

83 discontentment, The Latin translation has "weariness of the existing condition of things"

so many, etc, all who are ruined will vote for change They have nothing to lose, and they may gain by change estates, fortunes

85 the civil war, i e, between Cæsar and Pompey The quotation is from the *Pharsalia* of Lucan, l 181

90 This same, etc. In his Essay *Of the True Greatness of Britain* Bacon says, "It is necessary in a state that shall grow and enlarge, that there be that composition which the poet speaks of, *multis utile bellum* (that many should find an advantage in war) an ill condition of a state, no question, if it be meant of a civil war as it was spoken, but a condition proper to a state that shall increase, if it be taken of a foreign war For except there be a spur in the state, that shall excite and prick them on to wars, they will but keep their own, and seek no further"

93 the mean people, the lower classes

104 There is a limit, etc, quoted from the 8th Epistle of Pliny, a Roman provincial governor under the Emperor Trajan

106 mate, see note on Essay ii 20 Grievous oppression breaks a man's spirit, but an alarm of danger inspires even the timid with courage

110 fume, smoke It is the Latin word *fumus* The word *fume* is also used metaphorically to express 'a foolish idea' See Essay lvi 47 and of *Adv*, bk ii l 6, "Such natural philosophy as shall not vanish in the *fume* of subtle, sublime, or delectable speculation," etc

113 the Spanish proverb, We say "It is the last straw that breaks the camel's back"

118 strangers, There is discontent in England now at the general employment of foreign clerks and foreign workmen Similarly Americans have grumbled at the competition of Chinese labour

121 For, See note on Essay iii 17 Cf below, l 164

122 the just cure, the proper cure The wisdom of the statesman must discern the particular remedy which special circumstances require

126 material cause, what he calls above 'the materials,' or 'the matter,' of seditions In the language of Aristotle, which was adopted by Bacon, 'the matter' or 'the material cause' is the stuff of which a thing is made

127 to which purpose, The student will notice that Bacon advocates the interference of government with industry to a degree which modern economists would hardly sanction. After Adam Smith's demonstration of the results of a policy of protection there was, perhaps naturally, an excessive reaction of opinion in favour of a universal policy of *laissez aller*. Opinion is now in some quarters again veering round towards a policy of more extended state interference. We may explain this partly by reference to the exaggerated anticipations of prosperity formed when free trade was finally adopted, partly by the natural desire of newly enfranchised masses of voters to use their power in some positive way for the improvement of their own condition, and partly by the conviction of some independent theorists that unlimited competition does not as a matter of fact lead to the most equitable distribution of a nation's wealth.

128 opening, removing all hindrances to. We still talk of 'a new opening' for trade, in the sense of 'a new field' or 'opportunity'.

well-balancing, i.e. providing that what comes into the country does not exceed in value what goes out of it. See below, p. 146. In his *Advice to Sir George Villiers* Bacon says, "Let the foundation of a profitable trade be thus laid, that the exportation of home commodities be more in value than the importation of foreign, so we shall be sure that the stocks of the kingdom shall yearly increase, for then the balance of trade must be returned in money or bullion."

131 husbanding, cultivation

133 foreseen, provided. A Latinism

135 the stock, the produce

139 live lower, etc., live more economically and save more.

141 quality, rank

147 the increase, No nation can increase its own wealth except at the expense of a foreign nation. This is a fallacy. Inasmuch as different countries are fitted by nature for the production of different things, it is evident that all countries gain by international exchange.

151 venture, The Latin word *vehio* means 'to carry'. Bacon, in a speech in the House of Commons, said, "There is contained an article in the treaty between Spain and us that we shall not transport any native commodities of the Low Countries into Spain. Nay, more, that we shall not transport any manufactures of the same countries. The reason is because even those manufactures, although the materials come from other places, do yield unto them a profit and sustentation, in regard their people are set on work by them, they have a gain likewise

in the price, and they have a custom in the transporting—all which the policy of Spain is to debar them of.

155 the Low Countrymen, etc. Bacon means that though they have no advantage of soil, yet by their skill in manufacture and by their extensive carrying trade they are rendered richer than the most favoured countries.

160 muck, manure

162. strait, strict Both words originate in the Latin *stringere*, 'to draw tight.' Cf Essay x. 51, "a strict combination."

163 engrossing, monopolies

165 is, notice the singular verb

pasturages, Bacon means that pasture land affords occupation and home to fewer labourers than arable land does.

167 discontent, discontented See note on Essay viii 36

168. the greater sort, the higher classes Cf "the younger sort," Essay xviii 1

173 the poets, etc. In the *Adv*, bk ii 4 4, referring to the same fable, he says it is "expounded that monarchs need not fear any curbing of their absoluteness by mighty subjects, as long as by wisdom they keep the hearts of the people, who will be sure to come in on their side."

180 so, see note on Essay vii 35

bravery, bravado

182 endangereth, runs the risk of It now means 'exposes to danger.'

183 imposthumations, abscesses It is of no avail simply to drive discontent beneath the surface.

184 The part, etc. Forethought should mutate the action of Afterthought, i.e. a wise mode of providing against sedition is to take care that the people shall never be reduced to despair Cf *The Wisdom of the Ancients*, § 26 mought, might

188 artificial, often used by Bacon in the sense of *skilful* We now oppose it to *natural* or *real*

192 proceeding, administration Cf l 213

194 peremptory, inevitable. In the *Adv*, bk ii 22 8, he uses the word to signify "what cannot be changed."

196 particular persons, individuals.

197. to brave, ostentatiously to pretend

203 hath confidence with, is trusted by

205 his own particular, The Latin translation has "in his own private affairs."

207. fronted, confronted

211 at distance, at enmity Cf *Adv*, bk ii 22 6

217 Cæsar, etc There is a play on the word *dictate* Cf *Adv*, bk i 7 29 Sulla was elected Perpetual Dictator B C 82, but resigned power B C 79

222 Galba, See note on Essay ii 43 Tacitus, *Hist* i 5, records that this speech irritated the Praetorians (see note on Essay xix 151), who found that the donative promised in Galba's name was withheld

225 Probus was Emperor 276 282 A D "The imprudence of Probus is said to have inflamed the discontent of his troops More attentive to the interests of mankind than to those of the army, he expressed the vain hope that, by the establishment of universal peace, he should soon abolish the necessity of a standing and mercenary force The unguarded expression proved fatal to him" *Gibbon*, ch xii The story is told by Vopiscus, a Latin historian of the fourth century

229 tender, critical

230 short speeches, In the *Adv*, bk ii 23 16, Bacon advises "that more trust be given to countenances and deeds than to words, and in words rather to sudden passages and surprised words than to set and purposed words"

233 flat, dull

237 there useth to be, there generally is

242 Atque is habitus, etc "Such was the temper of men's minds that, while there were few to venture on so atrocious a treason, many wished it done, and all were ready to acquiesce" assured, trustworthy

243 popular, courting the favour of the people

holding good correspondence with, fairly matched with

ESSAY XVI OF ATHEISM

1 I had rather, etc In the *Adv*, bk i 1, Bacon says that it is only a shallow science which makes men atheists The wider and deeper a man's knowledge of nature is, the firmer will be his conviction of the truths of religion In bk ii 6 1, he says that the existence, power, and goodness of God are proved by natural theology from the world, which is the work of His hands

the Legend, The *Golden Legend*, a collection of lives of saints and other stories, written by Jacobus de Voragine, a Dominican, born about 1230 He takes his name from the place of his birth in the state of Genoa

2 the Talmud, contained the civil and canonical laws of the Jews

4 convince, refute

7 about, round

8 second causes, efficient causes. Cf *Adr*, bk 1 1 3 "In the entrance of philosophy, when the second causes which are next unto the senses do offer themselves to the mind of man, if it dwell and stay there it may induce some oblivion of the highest cause; but when a man presseth on further, and seeth the dependence of causes, and the works of Providence, then, according to the allegory of the poets, he will easily believe that the highest link of nature's chain must needs be tied to the foot of Jupiter's chair, i.e. that the series of natural phenomena is directed by God

10 confederate, bound together, united

13 Leucippus and Democritus, They taught the atomic theory Democritus was born B.C. 460 The real date of Leucippus' birth is not known For Epicurus see note on Essay i 46

14 four mutable elements, etc, referring to the Aristotelian quintessence, or fifth essence, of which the heavenly bodies are composed

15 fifth essence, Wright quotes from Holland's *Plutarch*, p 808, "Aristoteles of Stagira, the son of Nicomachus, hath put down for principles these three, to wit, a certain form called *Entelechia*, Matter, and Privation for elements, four, and for a fifth Quintessence, the heavenly body which is immutable"

17. portions or seeds, the atoms

unplaced, The Latin translation has "wandering without order and at random"

19 The fool, etc., *Psalm* xiv 1

21 as that he would have, as what he wishes to believe

23. for whom it maketh, to whose advantage it is Cf Essay i 14

27 fainted in it, distrusted it

30 which is most of all, what is most extraordinary

you shall have, see note on Essay ii 7 For of see Essay xiv 46

31 that, some who. Cf Essay i 2

36. without having respect to, without concerning themselves with. See note on Essay xi 90 See Tennyson's *Lotus Eaters*

45 the nature, He could not deny the existence of God, though he denied the divine government of the world

52 the contemplative atheist, the speculative atheist, the man who is really convinced of the non existence of God, as distinguished from those who are not really convinced, and those whose

denial of God is the expression rather of a wish than of a conviction.

Diagoras of Melos lived in the fifth century B C , Blon in the third century B C For Lucian, see note to Essay i 12

54 for that, because

62 scandal of priests, scandals caused by immoral priests. St Bernard was born 1091 A D See *Adv*, bk 1 3 2

68 reverence of religion, cf Essay xv 57

75 generosity, nobleness The Latin word *generosus* means properly 'of good birth,' and so the qualities which should distinguish men of rank

76 maintained, upheld, supported The word means literally 'held by the hand' Its more common meaning now is 'to support a person' in the sense of providing him with the means of living Used intransitively, 'I maintain' means 'I hold the opinion' Cf the use of the word *tenable*.

78 confidence of, trust inspired by

80 assureth himself, encourages himself

ESSAY XVII OF SUPERSTITION

1 no opinion The Latin translation adds "or an uncertain one" Bacon said in the last Essay that the moral use of religion is that it exalts human nature On the other hand, an unworthy conception of God, so far as it influences character and action, can only be degrading in its effects In this Essay Bacon has in view the doctrines and practice of the Catholic Church The various Catholic plots of his time naturally made him dwell upon the political effects of superstition In a letter to a friend who had joined the Catholic Church he writes, "And I entreat you much sometimes to meditate upon the extreme effects of superstition in this last Powder Treason fit to be tabled and pictured in the chamber of meditation, is another hell above the ground, and well justifying the censure of the heathen, that superstition is far worse than atheism, by how much it is less evil to have no opinion of God at all, than such as is impious towards his divine majesty and goodness"

7 would eat his children, According to the Greek myth Saturn, or rather Kronos, devoured his children The quotation is from Plutarch, *De Superstitione*, ch 10 Plutarch, a Boeotian by birth, lived in the first century A D He wrote biographies in pairs. Selecting some eminent Greek and Roman, he gave an account of each, and ended with a comparison of the two

11 piety, used, as in Latin, to signify 'natural affection

13 were not, did not exist Cf Essay iii 95

14 erecteth an absolute monarchy, cf *Adv*, bk 1 8 3
 "There is no power on earth which sets up a throne or chair of estate in the spirits and souls of men, and in their cogitations, imaginations, opinions, and beliefs, but knowledge and learning And therefore we see the detestable and extreme pleasure that arch heretics, and false prophets, and impostors are transported with, when they once find in themselves that they have a superiority in the faith and conscience of men" The authority of law and morality is necessarily invalidated by a theology which sets the arbitrary *dicta* of an infallible church above both

15 it makes men, etc The Latin translation has "it maketh men cautious and careful of their own safety"

16 as looking no further, because they have nothing to look to beyond their own interests in this world

18 civil, tranquil

19 primum mobile, see note on Essay vi 59

20 ravisheth, carries with it in its movement The Church usurps the functions of government The word *ravish* means to seize or carry off by force Cf rape, rapine, rapacious, etc "In this encyclopedic and round of knowledge, like the great and exemplary wheels of heaven, we must observe two circles, that, while we are daily carried about and whirled on by the swing and *rap*t of the one, we may maintain a natural and proper course in the slow and sober wheel of the other" Sir T' Brown

23 in a reversed order, rules of conduct ought to be deduced from principles of reason. Superstition invents arguments to justify its precepts

gravely, The Latin translation has, "it was a weighty saying of certain prelates" The Council of Trent met in the year 1545 Its object was to express the judgment of the Church on the questions raised by the Reformers

25 the Schoolmen, teachers in the schools The name is given to the philosophers of the middle ages Speaking generally, the Scholastic philosophy was an application of the logic of Aristotle to the development and explanation of the doctrines of Christianity It lasted from the ninth to the fourteenth century Bacon gives a criticism of the Schoolmen in the *Adv*, bk. 1 4 5 7, and bk 11 25 11

27 engines of orbs, i.e. orbits so contrived as to *sate*, i.e. to explain or be consistent with the phenomena Cf *Adv*, bk 11 8 5, "The same phenomena in astronomy are satisfied by the received astronomy of the diurnal motion, and the proper motions of the planets, with their eccentrics and epicycles, and

likewise by the theory of Copernicus " Eccentrics and epicycles were invented to explain the apparently irregular movements of the planets, including the sun and moon They revolved in "epicycles," i.e. small circles, the centres of which described larger circles These larger circles were called "eccentric," because the earth was not the centre of them *Eccentric* means literally "from the centre," and *epicycle*, "a circle added" Bacon himself did not accept the Copernican theory

32 Pharisaical, The Pharisees were a sect of the Jews noted for their ostentatious observance of the minutest ceremonies of the Mosaic ritual

33 reverence of, cf. Essay xi 57, and xvi 68

35 good intentions, see note on Essay iii 66

36 conceits, The Latin translation has "*ethelothreskeia*," a word used by St Paul, and rendered in the English version "*will worship*" In the third Essay he distinguishes "points of good intention" from "points fundamental and of substance in religion" Bacon means that if the Church is to enforce universally whatever individuals may think it right to do, new and arbitrary rules of conduct will certainly come into existence

the taking an aim, etc The Latin translation has, "The constant and foolish search for human analogies to explain things divine" We still say 'to make a shot' for 'to guess'

42 As wholesome meat, etc Talking of the process by which reasonable usage generates unreasonable usage, Sir Henry Maine says, "Analogy, the most valuable of instruments in the maturity of jurisprudence, is the most dangerous of snares in its infancy Prohibitions and ordinances, originally confined, for good reasons, to a single description of acts, are made to apply to all acts of the same class, because a man menaced with the anger of the gods for doing one thing feels a natural terror in doing any other thing which is remotely like it After one kind of food has been interdicted for sanitary reasons, the prohibition is extended to all food resembling it, though the resemblance occasionally depends on analogies the most fanciful So again, a wise provision for insuring general cleanliness dictates in time long routines of ceremonial ablution, and that division into classes which at a particular crisis of social history is necessary for the maintenance of the national existence, degenerates into the most disastrous and blighting of all human institutions—Caste" *Ancient Law*, ch 1 For the metaphor employed in the text, cf. *Adv*, bk 1 4 5, "Surely, like as many substances in nature which are solid do putrify and corrupt into worms, so it is the property of good and sound knowledge to putrify and dissolve into a number of subtle, idle, and unwholesome, and (as I may term them) vermiculate questions, which have indeed a kind of

quickness and life of spirit, but no soundness of matter or goodness of quality "

44 There is a superstition, etc In the natural reaction against the beliefs and practices of Hinduism, is there not a tendency in this country to adopt without discrimination the ideas and institutions of England? And is not that most valued which is most strange and most opposed to the old Hindu modes of thought and conduct? Amongst the causes of Church controversies in his day Bacon notices the tendency of the Reformers to go to the extreme opposite of everything Romish He says men should remember that "it is a consideration of much greater wisdom and sobriety to be well advised, whether in general demolition of the institutions of the Church of Rome, there were not, as men's actions are imperfect, some good purged with the bad, rather than to purge the Church, as they pretend, every day anew, which is the way to make a wound in the bowels, as is already begun " Cf Swift, *Tale of a Tub*, section vi

47 care would be had, The Latin translation has, "In reforming a religion care ought to be taken " Cf Essay iii 148

fareth, happens



ESSAY XVIII OF TRAVEL.

1 the younger sort, cf Essay xi 168

3 hath some entrance into, has acquired some knowledge of

5 grave, trustworthy

I allow, I approve It is the Latin *allaudare*, to laud, or praise

so that, provided that

6 hath the language, knows the language well

10 hooded, The metaphor is taken from falconry

14 observation, what they deliberately go to see

23 disputations, The Universities used to require a candidate for a degree to maintain or oppose a given thesis Cf *Adm*, bk ii Introd § 12 The following passage from Sir Frederick Pollock's reminiscences is interesting — "Acts and opponencies to be kept in the University schools were in my time still in existence, and, although shorn of all real significance were necessary preliminaries to taking the B A degree Early in 1835 I had to oppose Colenso as the keeper of an act The propositions he undertook to maintain were—

(i) The opinion of Newton in his third section, bk 1, is correct

(ii) The opinion of Hamilton in his book on comic sections is correct

(iii) The opinion of Paley on drunkenness is correct

The two men thus pitted against each other used to meet before hand to arrange their arguments, and usually in the evening at tea given in the rooms of the man keeping the act. Accordingly I went to Colenso in St John's College, and we rehearsed together our little farce. In the schools there was no audience except the two men who had to attend for a similar purpose. A moderator presided, and the act keeper and opponent mounted a sort of rostrum in succession. A very good argument might provoke from the moderator an *optime disputasti* (you have argued very well), a fair one was dismissed with a *bene disputasti* (you have argued well), and *satis disputasti* (you have argued enough) was the meed of the unfortunate man who failed to play his part in the comedy with credit."

21 so, similarly, likewise

23 are, see note on Essay iii 95

24 of state, magnificent

25 magazines, stores of any kind belonging to the state

burses, "Bourse" is still the French word for the exchange. It is the same word as *purse*. By *exchanges* and *burses* he means *places of exchange*

31 triumphs, masks, see Essay xxxvii

30 card, chart Cf Essay xxix 37

45 adamant, magnet The Latin translation has "This is certainly a magnet for the attraction of many acquaintances and intimacies" Cf Shakespeare, *Troil and Cress* iii 2 186—

"As true as steel, as plantage to the moon,
As sun to day, as turtle to her mate,
As iron to adamant"

Talking of the wit of Queen Elizabeth, Bacon says that it is "as the adamant of excellencies, which draweth out of any book ancient or new, out of any writing or speech, the best"

47 diet, take his meals

55 employed men, the private secretaries

58 in, we should say of But in the Latin translation it is "persons eminent in every kind"

59 the life, the real person The Latin translation has "The expression, the countenance, the figures, and the gestures"

60 For, see Essay iii 17

61. healths, toasts.

place, precedence

words, The Latin translation has "insulting words"

63. engage him into, entangle him in.

69 advised, thoughtful

71 country manners, the manners of his country The expression now would mean the manners of the country as opposed to those of the town.

72. prick in, plant Cf Essay xlv 178 Cf "Farewell, Monsieur Traveller look you up and wear strange suits, disable all the benefits of your own country, be out of love with your nativity, and almost chide heaven for making you that countenance you are, or I will scarce think you have swam in a gondola" *As You Like It*, Act iv Sc 1

ESSAY XIX. OF EMPIRE.

3 being at the highest, etc Cf "But princes, upon a far other reason, are best interpreted by their natures, and private persons by their ends For princes being at the top of human desires, they have for the most part no particular ends whereto they aspire, by distance from which a man might take measure and scale of the rest of their desires, which is one of the causes that maketh their hearts more inscrutable." *Adv*, bk ii. 23 21

6 clear, undisturbed As clouds overshadow a clear sky, their serenity is disturbed by anticipations of evil

7 the Scripture, *Prov* xxv 3

9 that should marshal, etc, i. e., to which other desires should be subordinated A man haunted by jealousies and fears is naturally capricious and uncertain, nor can we guess at the likes or dislikes of one who has no definite or leading object in life

12 Toys, trifles

13 an order, The Latin translation has "establishing some order or college"

15 Nero, etc., names of Roman emperors

21 standing at a stay, cf Essay xii 47

25 Alexander the Great, Wright quotes from Holland's Plutarch, "It is reported that King Alexander the Great, hearing Anaxarchus the philosopher discoursing and maintaining this position, that there were worlds innumerable, fell a weeping, and when his friends and familiars about him asked what he ailed,

Have I not (quoth he) good cause to weep that being as there are an infinite number of worlds, I am no yet the lord of one " Diocletian abdicated eight years before his death and spent that time in retirement Charles V abdicated in 1556, and devoted the remainder of his life to religious observances

20 temper, literally 'mixing' It denotes a judicious blending of severity with indulgence, as distinguished from *dis temper*, which signifies a capricious transition from the one to the other In a speech in the House of Commons Bacon told the same story about Apollonius and Vespasian, and remarked upon it, "Here we see the difference between regular and able princes and irregular and incapable, Nerva and Nero The one temper and mingles the sovereignty with the liberty of the subject wisely, and the other doth interchange it, and vary it unequally and absurdly "

32 Apollonius, born at Tyana in Cappadocia He was a diviner and reputed worker of miracles, who lived in the first century A D

41 fine deliveries, etc, skillful modes of escaping from and averting threatening danger

43 grounded, reasonable Cf "And senators or councillors likewise, which be learned, do proceed upon more safe and substantial principles, than councillors which are only men of experience the one sort keeping danger afar off, whereas the other discover them not till they come near hand, and then trust to the agility of their wit to ward or avoid them " *Adv*, bk 1 7 3 Cf *grounds*, Essay xii 28

44 to try masteries with, to contend for superiority with

46 the spark, the same metaphor is used in Essay xv 80

18 their own mind, the Latin translation has "their own desires and character " The substance of the following quotation is in Sallust's *History of the War with Jugurtha*, ch 113 Cf "Sallust noteth that it is usual with kings to desire contradictions but for the most part the desires of sovereigns are as changeable as they are strong, and are often contradictory " *Adv*, bk ii 22 5

52 the solecism, the natural defect. Of power, The Latin translation has "of excessive power "

the mean, the means

59 For, Essay iii 17 It is repeated in this sense at the beginning of the following paragraphs

63 embracing of trade, The Latin translation has "by drawing trade to themselves "

64 as, that

72. take up peace at interest, purchase an immediate peace at the cost of subsequent loss

73 Guicciardine, an Italian historian, 1483-1540 The league was formed in the year 1480

77. schoolmen, see note on Essay vii 28

83 infamed, infamous Livia was the wife of the Roman emperor Augustus Cf Essay vi 1

Roxalana, the wife of the Turkish sultan, Solymán the Magnificent, who reigned from 1520 to 1566 Mustapha was her step-son She procured his assassination in order to secure the succession to her own son

86 his queen, In very early times *his* was substituted by mistake for the *'s* of the genitive The change occurred most frequently in the case of nouns ending in a sibilant, owing to the coincidence of sound *c.g.* 'Mars his queen.' Abbott's *Sh G* § 217 *His*, as being the old genitive of *it*, was also used where we use *its*, see Essay x 42, etc.

90 adventresses adulteresses that, which follows *when*, would be omitted now, and *when* would be repeated See note on vi 53

91 of dangers, *i.e.* caused by, or resulting from dangers

95 was fatal as, was so fatal that.

97 for that, cf Essay xvi 54

99 towardness, docility Crispus was executed in the year 326 A D

103 that, see above, L 90

104 Demetrius was executed in the year 181 B C. on account of an accusation falsely preferred against him by his brother

110 Selymus, Solymán the Magnificent. Bajazet was one of his sons who rebelled against him and was executed by him

115 try it, contend.

118 that state, the order of the clergy But, except it hath a dependence of, it is dependent upon but where, except where. Bacon is thinking of the troubles which resulted from the conflict of the Civil with the Papal jurisdiction

119 churchmen, cf Essay viii 26

120 particular, cf Essay vi 196

122 it, We should say 'It is not amiss to keep them at a distance'

123 to depress, to press down, to humble

more absolute, cf Essay xiv 4

129 They, Notice the repetition of the nominative Cf Essay viii 37.

130 *Fain*, the word expresses reluctant acquiescence in what is inevitable

133 *discourse high*, as we say *talk big*, i.e. brag and bluster

134 that they grow not, i.e. preventing them from growing
It explains how they act as a counterpoise

135 *immediate*, used in its literal sense No one stands between them and the people

136 *temper*, moderate The word means literally to mix, to combine in due proportion (cf. above, l. 29), and so metaphorically to regulate So *distemper* means a disturbance of elements in combination, and so, metaphorically, a disease

138 *vena porta*, The metaphor is historically curious, for no one would have used it since the discovery of the circulation of the blood and of the lacteals But in Bacon's time it was supposed that the chyle was taken up by the veins which converge to the *vena porta* The latter immediately divides into branches, and ultimately into four ramifications, which are distributed throughout the substance of the liver, so that it has been compared to the trunk of a tree giving off roots at one extremity and branches at the other Bacon's meaning therefore is that commerce concentrates the resources of a country in order to their redistribution The heart, which receives blood from all parts of the body and brings it into contact with the external air, and then redistributes it everywhere, would I think have taken the place of the *vena porta* after Harvey's discovery had become known especially as the latter is a mere conduit and not a source of motion Ellis

140 *nourish little*, intransitive In the Latin translation it is "Have a thin habit of body"

141 that that he wins, etc. The Latin translation has "What he gains in parts he loses in the whole, the total amount of trade being diminished" Taxes diminish, of course, the power of purchasing Excessive taxation therefore involves stagnation of trade, and a consequent diminution of the public revenue A hundred was an old territorial division in England intermediate between the township and the county or shire Leeseth, loseth

147 the point of religion, etc Cf. Essay vi. 115

149 *men of war*, soldiers We use the term now in the sense *war ships*

151 the *Janizaries*, a Turkish corps established in 1326 The *praetorian bands* were instituted by Augustus Both the *janizaries* and the *praetorians* were intended as a safeguard to their sovereign and both, being spoilt by indulgence and conscious of power, became a danger to the ruler and the state

152 several, distinct

ESSAY XX OF COUNSEL.

- 6 obliged, used in the literal sense of "bound"
- 8 sufficiency, ability Cf Essay vi 101
- 9 hath made it, *Isaiah ix. 6* The quotation which follows is from *Prov xx 18*
- 12 Agitation, Notice the play on the word The Latin *agitare* means both *to toss* and *to discuss*
- 14 inconstancy, inconsistency Cf below, l. 69, *constantly*
- 15 Salomon's son, Rehoboam Following the advice of young counsellors, he attempted to govern with undue severity The result was that the greater part of his subjects revolted and set up an independent state
- 17 the beloved kingdom of God, the Jewish kingdom
- 20 for, see in 17
- 26 whereby they intend, the meaning of which is
- 36 elaborate, elaborated Cf Essay xv 167
- 43 resembled, compared
- 50 of themselves, by themselves without the help of advice By less he means 'not fit for their work'
- 54 doctrine, teaching The Latin translation has "The teaching of some among the Italians."
- 55 cabinet councils, secret councils The Latin translation has "Secret councils, commonly called cabinets." Wright says that the MS adds, "which hath turned Metis the wife to Metis the mistress, that is, councils of state to which princes are married, to councils of gracious persons recommended chiefly by flattery and affection" This was suppressed because of its obvious application to James' favourites
- 61 the unsecreting, the disclosure
- 63 futile, see Essay vi 52
- 64 to tell, The Latin translation has "to know and to reveal secrets"
- 66 be, see note on Essay i 2.
- 67 which, viz. secrecy A matter which is to be kept secret should not be spoken of to more than one or two persons
- 71 such as is able, etc The Latin translation has "who is strong in his own strength," i.e. who can manage his own affairs
- 72 inward, intimate
- 75 imparted himself, communicated his intentions to Morton and Fox were the Bishops of Ely and Exeter Wright quotes from Bacon's *History of Henry III*, "About this time the King

called unto his Privy Council John Morton and Richard Fox, the one Bishop of Ely, the other Bishop of Exeter, vigilant men and secret, and such as kept watch with him almost upon all men else "

76 For, of Essay iii 17

the fable sheweth the remedy, he has already explained one meaning of the fable to be that kings should appropriate the wisdom of their advisers

79 his dependences, his dependents Cf *Adv*, bk. ii 23 17, "Mutianus advanced many of the friends of Antonius wherein, under pretence to strengthen him, he did desolate him, and won from him his dependences "

81 over strict, see note on Essay vi 162

82 holpen, remedied Cf "Men are to imitate the wisdom of jewellers who if there be a grain, or a cloud, or an ice which may be ground forth without taking too much of the stone, they help it " *Adv*, bk ii 21 5

85 he shall not find, etc See the conclusion of Essay i

86 there be that, see note on Essay i 2

96 the chief virtue, etc From an epigram of the Roman Martial, born A D 43

97 speculative, prying into Cf "To be speculative into another man to the end to know how to work him, or wind him, or govern him, proceedeth from a heart that is double and cloven and not entire and ingenuous, which as in friendship it is want of integrity, so towards princes or superiors is want of duty " *Adv*, bk i 3 7

98 person, character See note on Essay iii 134

composition, see note on Essay vi 103

104 reverend, deserving of respect. See note on Essay xiv 29

105 obnoxious, exposed to, influenced by A Latinism lit it means 'liable to punishment'

107 to preserve freedom, i.e. that they may not hesitate to say what they think, as they might do in the presence of their superiors For 'the inferior sort' and 'the greater sort,' cf Essay xv 168, and Essay xviii 1

108 to preserve respect, the Latin translation has "That they may give their advice more modestly "

111 the life of the execution, etc The law remains a dead letter when no one is interested in enforcing it Cf "A purposed neglect, or, what is worse, a literal but perverse and malignant obedience must be the ruin of the wisest counsels" and "I think it impossible that any king can cordially *infuse viracity*

and rigour into measures which he knows to be dictated by those who, he must be persuaded, are in the highest degree ill affected to his person." Burke In a letter to Villiers Bacon says, "The impediments are as much or more in the persons which are *live instruments* than in the dead business itself "

113. by classes, one general idea, or one mathematical definition, embraces the characteristics of a whole class of things Such general knowledge of man is not sufficient Cf *Adr*, bk ii

27 14, "Informations of particulars, touching persons and actions, are as the minor propositions in every active syllogism for no excellency of observations (which are as the major propositions) can suffice to ground a conclusion, if there be errors and mistaking in the minors "

115 should be, ought to be

119 blanch, connected etymologically with 'blink' and 'flinch' It means 'to shrink,' or 'be afraid' In *Essay* xxi 28, it is used transitively in the sense of 'to avoid' Cf "It is over usual to blanch the obscure places and discourse upon the plain" *Adr*, bk ii 19 1

120 conversant in, familiar with

121 have been actors upon the stage, The Latin translation has "Who have guided the helm of the state "

123 debated, The Latin translation has "duly weighed and discussed "

124 act, resolution. It is used like the Latin *actum* to signify the result of debate.

126 spoken to discussed Bacon was himself a member of the Commission appointed in the year 1604 to deal with the question of the union of the two kingdoms

132 estate, state

133 ripening, we should say 'preparing' Bacon means the collecting and arranging of the information required by the Council It may be said that, if a committee is composed of the adherents of two parties in equal numbers, neither party will have an advantage Bacon says that it is better not to admit partizans at all.

134 indifferent, see note on *Essay* vi 64

136 standing, perpetual In a letter of advice to the king Bacon suggested the appointment of commissions for the following provinces for advancing the clothing of England for staying treasures within the realm, and the reiglement of moneys for the provision of the realm with corn and grain, and the government of the exportation and importation thereof and directing of public granaries, if cause be for introducing

and nourishing manufactures within the realm, for the setting people a work for preventing the depopulation of towns and houses of husbandry, and for nuisances and highways for the recovery of drowned lands for the suppression of the grievance of informers for the better proceedings in the plantation of Ireland for the provision of the realm with all kinds of warlike defence, ordnance, powder, munition, and armour

137 for some provinces, for particular subjects. The Latin word *provincia* was used in the sense of 'a department of the public service' before it meant 'a district'

be, see note on Essay 1 2

138 divers particular councils, The Latin translation has "different subordinate councils" The special committees in Spain resemble the standing councils which Bacon advocates

142. mintmen, persons skilled in coinage

145 tribunitious, overbearing The tribunes in the Roman state were the magistrates who specially represented the people as distinguished from the aristocracy

to clamour, to shout them down.

148 sway, direct

153 take the wind of him, follow his lead They will be guided by him as a ship follows the direction of the wind. *Of=from*, as it sometimes does still, after words like 'to borrow,' and 'to take' Cf our expression "to know which way the wind blows," i.e. in what direction things are tending Shakespeare talks of men who "turn their halcyon beaks with every gale and vary of their masters," *Lear*, ii 2. 84 It was believed that if the kingfisher or halcyon was hung up in the air by the neck, its bill was always directly against the wind

154 a song of placebo, the vesper hymn for the dead, so called because it begins with the words, "I will please (*placebo*) the Lord in the land of the living" *They will sing a song of placebo* means here simply, they will do what the king wishes

ESSAY XXI OF DELAYS

3 Sibylla's offer, Cf *Adv*, bk ii 23 33 The Roman king Tarquin refused to buy nine books which an old woman offered him She went away and burnt three of the books, and then returned and asked as much as before for the remaining six The king laughed at her She then went and burnt three more of the books, and still asked the same price for the remaining three The king was so struck by her conduct that he consulted

his augur, who told him to buy the three books, adding that he had done wrong in not buying the nine, for that they were the books of the Sibyl, and contained great secrets. The Sibylline books were consulted by the Romans in times of political difficulty and danger.

5 the common verse, *Adagia*, p 687, ed Grynæus. Grynæus was a Suabian by birth. He was born towards the end of the fifteenth century. He was well known as a scholar and a theologian. See also Phaedrus, v 8 (W).

6 and no hold taken, i. e. after she has presented her locks and found that no hold is taken of them. 'Taken' depends upon 'has.' If we ever let slip an opportunity it may never recur.

13 nothing, used adverbially not at all

19 buckling, preparing to meet them

22 Argus was set by Juno as a guard over Io. For Briareus, see Essay xv 175

24 the helmet of Pluto, See Homer, *Il*, v 845. It rendered the wearer invisible. Cf *The Wisdom of the Ancients*, chap vii

25 the politic man, the politician

ESSAY XXII OF CUNNING

1 take Cunning for, we mean by cunning

4 there be that, see note on Essay i 2

pack the cards, arrange the cards deceitfully. Many men have not the wisdom to make use of advantages which they have had cunning enough to obtain.

6 weak, wanting in ability

7. persons, The Latin translation has "the characters and habits of individuals."

8 are perfect in men's humours, The Latin translation has "know the favourable times for approaching men."

9. real, *Res* is the Latin word for *matters*, so 'the real part' means matters or business as distinguished from persons.

part of business, cf "this part of predictions," Essay xv 72. In the *Adv*, bk ii. 23 14, he dwells on the importance of "procuring good information of particulars touching persons, their natures, their desires, and ends, their customs and fashions, their helps and advantages, and whereby they chiefly stand so again their weaknesses and disadvantages, and whereby they lie most open and obnoxious, their friends, factions,

dependences, and again their opposites, enviers, and competitors, their moods and times, *you alone know the favourable times for approaching him*, their principles, rules, and observations, and the like, and this not only of persons, but of actions, what are on foot from time to time, and how they are conducted, favoured, and opposed, and how they import, and the like "

11 practice, intrigue

12 but, only

alley, a bowling alley Under the head of "*Bowl Alley* or *Bowling Alley*" Nares (*Glossary*) gives "a covered place for the game of bowls, instead of a bowling green" He quotes, "Whether it be in open wide places, or in close allies—the choosing of the bowls is the greatest cunning"—*Country Contentment*, G Markham, p 58 (W) A man who plays bowls well in the alley to which he is accustomed may play badly in a strange one Similarly a cunning man may be able to work upon an individual whose character and habits he has studied, though for want of a general knowledge of human character he will fail when he has to deal with a stranger

13 so as, see note on Essay viii 48 The Greek philosopher Aristippus was the author of the saying which Bacon quotes

16 and because, etc It will be well to enumerate the little tricks with which they are always ready Cf below, l 112 A haberdasher is generally connected with a Norse word signifying things of small value Skeat connects it with 'the haversack' in which the pedlar carried his wares

19 wait upon, carefully watch Cf "the motions of the countenance and parts do disclose the present humour and state of the mind and will For, as your majesty saith most aptly and elegantly, *as the tongue speaketh to the ear so the gesture speaketh to the eye* And therefore a number of subtil persons, whose eyes do dwell upon the faces and fashions of men, do well know the advantage of this observation, as being most part of their ability, neither can it be denied but that it is a great discovery of dissimulation, and a great direction in business" *Adv*, bk ii 9 2

20 Jesuits, an order in the Catholic Church founded in the sixteenth century

21 there be, see note on Essay i 2

22 would be, cf Essay iii 148

24 when you have, etc The Latin translation has "When there is anything which you wish to obtain and carry through easily and quickly "

30 estate, state

30 mought, cf Essay xi. 184

33 that, of Essay vi 39, and below, 1 38

34 would, wishes to
doubts, fears

35 handsomely, used in its proper sense of 'dexterously'

36 in such sort, in such a way

39 took himself up, checked himself

45 what the matter is, etc, what your change of countenance means The Jewish prophet Nehemiah, being in exile and wishing to return to Judæa, assumed a sorrowful look in the presence of Artaxerxes The king asked the meaning of his sad looks, and the question afforded him an opportunity of making his request *Nehem* ii 1

48 tender, delicate, difficult to approach
unpleasing, cf Essay i 27

51 He, i. e. the person whose voice is more weighty Messalina, wife of the Roman Emperor Claudius, forced a noble named Silius to marry her Narcissus, the Emperor's secretary, wishing to inform the Emperor of this, but afraid to do so directly, ordered two women with whom the Emperor was intimate to mention the fact to him They did so, and the Emperor then sent for Narcissus to inquire as to the truth of this report. Tac. *Ann* xi 30

57 he, see note on Essay viii 37

66 be found, i. e. procure themselves to be surprised and found

68 apposed, questioned We use the word 'to pose' for 'to puzzle with a question' Cf Essay xxxii 32

72 thereupon take advantage, The Latin translation has "so as by this means to ensnare and overthrow the other"

two, possibly Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Thomas Bodley (W)

74 kept good quarter, etc, were on friendly terms In Essay x 48, 'to keep quarter' is used in a different sense

76 declination, decline.

77 affect, see note on Essay i 3

78 caught up those words, The Latin translation has "took in good faith these words which were spoken with sinister intent"

82 as, see note on Essay viii 21

84 The turning, etc Wright quotes the following explanation from Singer's edition of the Essays—"It was originally, no doubt, 'cate in the pan,' but thus popularly corrupted The allusion is probably to the dexterous turning or shifting the side of a pancake by a sleight of hand familiar to cooks" The word 'cat a

pan' occurs in a popular English song as equivalent to 'turn coat',

86 lays it as if another, etc, imputes it to another

90 to glance and dart at others, indirectly to accuse others.

92 Tigellinus, Tac *Ann* xiv 57 He was the profligate favourite and minister of the Roman Emperor Nero Burrhus, who with Seneca had superintended the education of Nero, and who tried to control him for good, was put to death A D 63

96 as, that

98 keep themselves more in guard, they protect themselves because they affirm nothing explicitly

99 carry it, spread it abroad

101 stick, hesitate

104 how far about they will fetch, in what a roundabout way they will approach the subject

beat over, We have an expression 'to beat about the bush' in the sense of 'to hesitate before coming to the point' The metaphor is taken from beating the jungle to start the game. So also it means 'to search carefully from point to point' Cf Essay I. 46 With this passage cf Essay xlvii 25

108 lay him open, reveal what he wishes to hide

109 Paul's, "The body of old St Paul's church in London was a constant place of resort for business and amusement Advertisements were fixed up there, bargains made, servants hired, politics discussed," etc Nares, *Gloss* s v, quoted by Wright, who adds that frequent allusions are made to it by Shakespeare and the dramatists of his time

112 small wares, cf above, l 17

114 for that, cf Essay xvi 54

116 resorts, springs or sources Cf *Adv*, bk ii 2 5 "Such histories do rather set forth the pomp of business than the true and inward resorts thereof"

117 the main, the important part Bacon means that cunning can do no more than take advantage of opportunities for setting things afoot, and finding a way out of a difficulty So it may be compared to a house which should contain nothing but a way in and a way out

120 looses, modes of escape Cf *deliveries*, Essay xix 11

in the conclusion, the Latin translation adds "of deliberations."

are, notice the omission of the nominative
no ways, cf Essay x 51

122. would be thought, etc They wish to be regarded as men who are more fitted to decide matters for others than to discuss them with others.

123 abusing, deceiving The quotation which follows is from *Pror* xiv 15

125 proceedings, of Essay vi 192

ESSAY XXIII OF WISDOM FOR A MAN'S SELF

1 shrewd, mischievous Cf *Adv*, bk ii 23 10 "Many are wise in their own ways that are weak for government or counsels, like ants, which is a wise creature for itself, but very hurtful for the garden." The part of the *Advancement* referred to should be read in illustration of this Essay

3 waste the public, The Latin translation has "do harm to the state." With this passage cf *Adv*, bk i 3 7

6 himself, The Latin translation has "his own interest"

7 It is right earth, it is exactly like the earth, which, in Bacon's opinion, was the fixed centre round which the heavens revolved In the *Interpretation of Nature* Bacon says, "The appetites to give and to receive are figured in the universal frame of the world, the one in the beam of heaven which issues forth, and the other in the lap of the earth which takes in" For his, see note on Essay xix 86

10 a man's self, see note on Essay vi 37

14 affairs, The Latin translation has "state affairs"

15 crooketh, bends

16 eccentric to, different from The interests of the individual and those of the state, being sometimes opposed, form, as it were, the centres of different circles of activity See note on Essay xvii 27

17 princes or states, cf "kings or estates," Essay ix 150

18 except they mean, unless they mean to employ them merely as instruments having no independent or discretionary power

23 carry things, prevail, be preferred

25 set a bias, etc, private interests and jealousies divert the selfish man from the path of loyalty, just as the bias diverts the bowl from the straight line See note on Essay xvii 12 Of explains what it is that gives the bias Cf "The corrupter sort of mere politicks, that have not their thoughts established by learning in the love and apprehension of duty, nor never look

abroad into universality, do refer all things to themselves, and thrust themselves into the centre of the world, as if all lines should meet in them and their fortunes, never caring, in all tempests, what becomes of the ship of estates, so they may save themselves in the cock boat of their own fortune, whereas men that feel the weight of duty, and know the limits of self love, use to make good their places and duties, though with peril " *Adv*, bk 1 3 6

28 is after the model of, is proportionate to They barter away the interests of the state for their own advantage and what they gain after all is small in comparison with the harm which they do to the state

29 the hurt they sell, etc Their own advantage is gained at the cost of the state

31 it is the nature as, their nature is such that

32 and, if

35 for either respect, to gain either of these two ends. See note on Essay xi 90

36 their affairs, the business of their masters

41 crocodiles were fabled to moan and sigh like a person in distress, in order to allure travellers near them, and even to shed tears over their prey in the act of devouring it Cf "As the mournful crocodile with sorrow snares relenting passengers," Shakespeare, 2 *Henry VI*, iii 1 Cf Bullokar's *Expositor* (1616), "Crocodile's tears do signify such tears as are feigned, and spent only with intent to deceive or do harm"

42 would, wish to

47 self wisdom, i.e. their ingenuity in providing for themselves

ESSAY XXIV OF INNOVATIONS

1 the births, the offspring The word 'innovation' means simply changes, without connoting, as it generally does now, that the changes are for the worse. The student will notice that in this Essay Bacon simply jots down certain *antitheta*, or general considerations which may be urged for or against changes Cf *De Aug*, bk vi, *Antith*, xl

3 as those etc., cf Essay 14 36

6 For ill, etc, the perverted nature of man has a natural inclination towards what is bad, and therefore things tend to deteriorate by mere continuance

8 Surely, The word introduces an argument in favour of

change. Cf "A state without the means of some change is without the means of its conservation," *Burke*.

10 If time of course alter, etc., if things deteriorate by the mere lapse of time. Cf "Time is truly compared to a stream, that carrieth down fresh and pure waters into that salt sea of corruption which environeth all human actions. And therefore if man shall not by his industry, virtue, and policy, as it were with the oar, row against the stream and inclination of time, all institutions and ordinances, be they never so pure, will corrupt and degenerate." *Of the Pacification of the Church*

14 It, see note on Essay viii 37

fit, The Latin translation has "suited to the times." It is no sufficient argument for changing a system or an institution that it is theoretically defective

15 confederate, cf Essay xvi 10 'Within themselves' is the Latin *inter se*, i.e. 'together'

16 piece not so well, do not fit in with the old Cf Essay iii 101

17 inconformity, their not harmonizing with the old

20 froward, perverse, unreasoning Cf "A contentious retaining of custom is a turbulent thing, as well as innovation. A good husband is ever pruning in his vineyard, or his field not unseasonably indeed, not unskilfully, but lightly, he findeth ever somewhat to do." *Of Church Controversies* 'Turbulent' means 'causing confusion and embarrassment.'

22 the new, the age in which they live

It were good, etc. Cf "It is one of the excellencies of a method in which time is amongst the assistants that its operation is slow and in some cases almost imperceptible," *Burke*.

27 pairs, impairs. mends, improves the condition of Consider e.g. the substitution of railways for stage carriages

he that is holpen, he who is a gainer Cf Essay xx 82.

33 pretendeth, urges as an excuse.

34 suspect, a thing suspected.

35 as the Scripture saith, *Jeremiah* vi 16 Cf. "Antiquity envieth there should be new additions, and novelty cannot be content to add but it must deface surely the advice of the prophet is the true direction in this matter, *Stand upon the ancient paths and see which is the straight and good road and walk in it*. Antiquity deserveth that reverence, that men should make a stand thereupon and discover what is the best way, but when the discovery is well taken, then to make progression." *Adm*, bk. i.

5 1

37 to walk, The construction is irregular,

ESSAY XXV OF DISPATCH

1 Affected dispatch, The Latin translation has "an excessive striving after haste" For 'affected' of note on Essay 3 A man can scarcely do a thing well if his first object be to do it quickly

4 crudities, The Latin translation has "sour juices" *Crudus* is the Latin word for 'undigested'

7 lift, The Latin translation adds "but a lower and even motion of the feet"

10 only to come, etc The Latin translation has "only to appear to have done much in a short time"

11 to contrive, etc, to make it appear that the business is finished, though it is not really so Period, conclusion

because, in order that Cf Essay viii 15, Essay xxxiv 14

12. to abbreviate, to economize time

13 And business, etc If, through a desire to get through business quickly, a point is slurred over or neglected at one meeting, it will inevitably turn up to interrupt the proper business of a subsequent meeting

15 a wise man, Sir Amias Paulet, with whom Bacon went to France in 1576 see *Apoph.*, 76 In Howell's *Familiar Letters*, vol ii lett 17, the saying is attributed to Sir Francis Walsingham (W) Cf the proverb, "More haste less speed"

16 a byword, a proverb

20 at a dear hand, at a high price The question is whether a thing is worth the time that was spent upon it.

Spaniards, In a speech in the House of Commons Bacon said, "His Lordship ascribed these delays, not so much to malice or alienation of mind towards us, as to the nature of the people and nation (Spain), which is proud and therefore dilatory for all proud men are full of delays, and must be waited on, and especially to the multitude and diversities of tribunals and places of justice, and the number of the king's councils full of referrals, which ever prove of necessity to be deferrals, besides the great distance of territories all which have made the delays of Spain to come into a byword through the world Wherein I think his Lordship might allude to the proverb of Italy, *Ma venga la morte di Spagna*, let my death come from Spain, for then it is sure to be long, in coming."

21 waits upon his memory, strives to recollect what is was told

22 the actor, etc The Latin translation has "the speaker" But it is clear that however we receive the information a story may

be, it is sometimes not so wearisome as the interruptions of the person who tries to guide and control (moderate) him in the manner of telling his story

33. But there is, etc., speakers must be kept to the point.

36 curious, cf Essay ix 17

38. passages, The Latin translation has "graceful transitions" In passing from point to point the speaker may waste time in the effort to avoid abruptness.

excusations, excuses, apologies

40 bravery, ostentation

41 being too material, going straight to the point An orator will, if he is wise, prepare men's minds gradually for a proposal against which they are prejudiced Cf *Adv*, bk ii 17 10

46 so as, provided that

56 more pregnant of direction, more serviceable for guidance Unless written proposals are put before a meeting, the discussion is apt to wander into mere generalities On the other hand, the very criticism which shows a given mode of dealing with a problem to be inadequate points at the same time to the conditions of a satisfactory solution

57, generative, fertilizing If we are to press the simile, we must say that dust, existing in indefinite amount, symbolizes a discussion to which no limits are set Ashes, on the other hand, being the definite quantity of matter resulting from the destruction of a given substance by fire, symbolize the positive plan which results from the destruction of a measure by criticism.

ESSAY XXVI OF SEEMING WISE.

4 the Apostle, St. Paul, 2 Timothy iii 5

6. there are that, there are some who After 'solemnly' the Latin translation adds "having little wisdom"

sufficiency, cf Essay xx 8

7. formalists, pretenders to wisdom. The Latin word translated 'show' in the quotation from St. Paul is *species*, and means literally 'form' or 'appearance'

10 prospectives. The Latin translation has "how they use, as it were an art of perspective" Prospectives were glasses contrived to give an appearance of solidity to objects in a picture.

11 as, that.

12 seem always, The Latin translation has "would be thought to suggest more than they say "

14 that, cf Essay vi 39

would seem, wish to appear.

16 well, The Latin translation has "safely "

22 to bear it, to succeed

25 impertinent, cf 'impertinence,' Essay viii 10

curious, trifling See note on Essay ix 17

26 would have, wish to have Cf "For confidence, it is the last but the surest remedy, namely, to depress and seem to despise whatsoever a man cannot attain, observing the good principle of the merchants, who endeavour to raise the price of their own commodities, and to beat down the price of others " *Adv*, bk ii 23 32

28 blanch, avoid See note on Essay xx 119

A Gellius, This is a mistake Bacon is quoting from memory the substance of what Quintilian says about Seneca (IV) Quintilian was a famous Roman rhetorician born about A.D. 40 Cf *Adv*, bk i 4 6 A politician, criticising an opponent's policy as compared with his own, often blinds his hearers to the substantial identity of the two by concentrating their attention upon quite unimportant distinctions between them which his subtlety enables him to invent, and his rhetorical skill to emphasize

31 Protagoras, the name of one of the Platonic dialogues Protagoras and Prodicus were two Sophists, or public teachers, well known in Athens at the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century B.C.

34 find ease to be, etc, prefer to criticise the proposals of others rather than make proposals of their own For 'of' we should say 'on'

35 affect a credit, try to obtain a reputation by making objections For 'affect,' see note on Essay i 3

36 when propositions are denied, when proposals are rejected

37 allowed, cf Essay xviii 5

38 false point of wisdom, pretended wisdom The Latin translation has "spurious kind of wisdom "

39 inward beggar, one who is in reality a beggar, though outwardly he maintains a show of wealth The Latin translation has, "one who squanders his estate in secret "

40 hath their Notice the change from singular to plural

42 sufficiency, see note above, l 6

42 may make shift, etc., may manage to acquire a reputation
The Latin translation adds "with the common people"

44 you were better take, Abbott (*Sh Gr* § 352) points out
that this represents an old impersonal idiom "Me were liefer,"
i. e. "It would be more pleasant to me", "Me were loth",
"Him were better" The change to the personal construction
seems to have arisen from an erroneous feeling that "me were
better" was ungrammatical

45. formal, see note on "formalists" above

ESSAY XXVII. OF FRIENDSHIP

This Essay was written at the special request of his friend Toby
Matthew in commemoration of an intimacy which had been tried
by adversity and prosperity on both sides, and endured to the end
without cloud or interruption on either Spedding's *Francis
Bacon and his Times*, vol i p 521

3 Whosoever, etc., Aristotle's *Politics*, 11 A man, says
Aristotle, may be so degraded as to be unfit for society, or he may
be self sufficient, and therefore may not need society In the first
case he resembles a beast, in the second he resembles God In
the *Ethics*, bk x ch. 11, Aristotle gives the following reasons for
preferring a contemplative to an active life—"It is the highest
kind of life, it can be enjoyed uninterruptedly for the greatest
length of time, it is the most pleasant, it is the most self sufficient,
it alone is loved for its own sake, and it implies leisure." With
the whole of this passage cf *Adi*, bk 11 20 8

5 aversation, aversion

7 should have, We should say 'has.' The word 'should'
shows that he is quoting the opinion of another

9 to sequester to withdraw

a man's self, see note on Essay vi 57 Describing the death
of Essex, Bacon says, "He never mentioned nor remembered
there, wife children, or friend, nor took particular leave of any
that were present, but wholly abstracted and sequestered himself
to the state of his conscience and prayer"

10 conversation, mode of life The Latin translation has
"for nobler studies"

11 Epimenides, a sage and poet of Crete, who lived in the sixth
century B.C. He is said to have fallen asleep in a cave when a
boy, and to have remained asleep for fifty seven years.

12 Numa was the second king of Rome. He retired at times
into a cave, where he is said to have received instruction from the
Nymph Egria.

- 13 Apollonius, see note on Essay xix 32
- 18 meeteth with it, expresses it
- 19 A great city, etc, *Adagia*, p 506 A comic poet quoted by Strabo, xvi p 738, punning upon the name of Megalopolis, (lit the great city), a town of Arcadia, said, "The great city is a great desert" Strabo applies it to Babylon (W)
- 23 mere, used in its literal sense of 'pure' Cf Essay iii 66
- 26 he taketh it of, he derives it from
- 27 humanity, human nature
- 32 sarza, sarsaparilla.
- 38 civil, as distinguished from the confessions which the Catholic Church orders penitents to make to the priest.
- 41 as, that Cf ll 67, 75, 83, 94
- 43 in regard of, because of Cf l 71
- 47 sorteth to, results in
- 49 privadoes, intimate friends Wright quotes from Bacon's *History of Henry VII*, where he says, speaking of the Duchess of Burgundy and Perkin Warbeck, that "She sent him unknown into Portugal with some *Privado* of her own to have an eye upon him" Read Bacon's letter to Villiers on the duties of a king's favourite Spedding's *Francis Bacon and His Times*, vol ii p 151 In his *Advice to Sir George Villiers* Bacon says, "Kings and great princes, even the wisest of them, have had their friends, their favourites, their privadoes in all ages, for they have their affections as well as other men Of these they make several uses, sometimes to communicate and debate their thoughts with them, and to ripen their judgments thereby, some times to ease their cares by imparting them, and sometimes to interpose them between themselves and the envy or malice of their people, for kings cannot err, that must be discharged upon the shoulders of their ministers, and they who are nearest unto them must be content to bear the greatest load" *Favourite* was a technical term to denote a private and confidential councillor chosen by the king out of personal affection Cf Essay xxxvi 34, and lv 54
- grace or conversation, condescension or society
- 51 Sharers of their cares, The title was given by the Roman Emperor Tiberius to his minister Sejanus Dio Cass lvm 4, Tac *Ann* iv 2 (W)
- 59 Sylla, see note on Essay xv 217
- 60 to that height that, to such a height that
- 62 the pursuit, the canvassing
- 62 that, see note on Essay xi 53

65 more men, etc Cf *Adi*, bk ii 23 6

67 that interest as, such influence that.

68 his nephew, afterwards Augustus Cæsar

72 Calpurnia, the wife of Cæsar

73 he hoped, The Latin translation has "He hoped that Cæsar would not put such a slight upon the senate as to dismiss it until his wife had dreamed a better dream" See Shakespeare, *Jul Cæs* ii. 2 60

76 Cicero, *Philippics*, xiii 11

78 that height as, such a height that

79 Mæcenas, the favourite minister of Augustus He is best known through the writings of Horace as an enlightened patron of literature.

88 in respect of, cf "in regard of," above

89 the like or more, etc The Latin translation has "An instance of equal or even greater friendship than that is seen"

90 Septimius Severus, Emperor of Rome A D 193—211

Plantianus was Prætorian Prefect In virtue of his office, "he, in every department of administration represented the person, and exercised the authority of, the Emperor Plantianus' reign lasted above ten years, till the marriage of his daughter with the eldest son of the Emperor, which seemed to assure his fortune, proved the occasion of his ruin The animosities of the palace, by irritating the ambition and alarming the fears of Plantianus, threatened to produce a revolution, and obliged the Emperor, who still loved him, to consent with reluctance to his death" *Gibbon*, ch 5

92 maintain, cf Essay xvi 76

93 by, we should say 'in.'

95 Trajan was emperor A D 98 117 and Marcus Aurelius, A D 161-180 In the *Adi*, bk i 7 5, Bacon says of Trajan, "He was for his person not learned but if we will hearken to the speech of our Saviour, that saith, *He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet shall have a prophet's reward*, he deserveth to be placed amongst the most learned princes, for there was not a greater admirer of learning or benefactor of learning On the other side, how much Trajan's virtue and government was admired and renowned, surely no testimony of grave and faithful history doth more lively set forth than that legend tale of Gregorius Magnus, bishop of Rome, who was noted for the extreme envy he bare towards all heathen excellency. and yet he is reported out of the love and estimation of Trajan's moral virtues, to have made unto God fervent and passionate prayers for the delivery of his soul out of hell and to have obtained it,

with a caveat that he should make no more such petitions " Of Marcus Aurelius he says, *Adv*, bk 1 7 8, "He was named the Philosopher As he excelled all the rest in learning, so he excelled them likewise in perfection of all royal virtues And the virtue of this prince, continued with that of his predecessor, made the name of Antoninus so sacred in the world, that though it was extremely dishonoured in Commodus, Caracalla, and Heliogabalus, who all bore the name, yet when Alexander Severus refused the name because he was a stranger to the family, the Senate with one acclamation said, *Let the name of Antoninus be as the name of Augustus* In such renown and veneration was the name of these two princes in those days, that they would have had it as a perpetual addition in all the Emperors' style "

101 as an half piece, incomplete

105 Comineus, Philip de Commines, a French historian, born 1446

Charles the Hardy, Duke Charles the Bold of Burgundy (1433 1477) He was for a long time engaged in hostilities against Louis XI Charles and Louis are prominent characters in Scott's *Quentin Durward*

109 closeness, reserve Cf Essay vi 33

110 perish, destroy

111 mought, cf Essay xv 184

112 Louis the Eleventh, King of France from 1461 1483

113 parable, proverb

114 Pythagoras, a Greek philosopher He was a native of Samos, and was born about 590 B C

117 admirable, marvellous Cf "to be admired," Essay v 4

119 works, produces

125 use, cf Essay xxii 23

126 still, cf Essay ix 9

127 praying in aid of, invoking the assistance of Cf *Adv*, bk ii 17 10, "Whatsoever science is not consonant to pre-suppositions must pray in aid of similitudes "

129 in bodies, The Latin translation has "in natural objects " union, etc, he means that joy, being a natural motion, is increased by friendship, whereas grief, being a violent impression, is weakened by it Cf *Adv*, bk ii 5 2, and *Nat Hist*, Century, § 92

133 affections, feelings See note on Essay ix 1 Cf below, 1 165

140 clarify, become clear

141 break up, He means that the man's ideas, from being huddled together in a confused mass, gradually become detached and sorted

142. tosseth, see note on Essay xv 12. Bacon means that the man looks at things from different points of view

143 orderly, cf Essay i. 18

147 cloth of Arras, tapestry It is so called from the town of Arras, in Artois, where it was principally made

148 put abroad, unfolded.

in figure, The Latin translation has "distinctly" See Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles*, ch 29

149 they, i. e. thoughts

151 restrained, confined

155 a man were better, it would be better for a man to Cf Essay xvi. 44 To is sometimes inserted, as in the next line

161 Heraclitus saith, etc The philosopher, Heraclitus, born at Ephesus, lived in the sixth century B.C. He was called 'the obscure' Bacon quotes the saying again, *Adv*, bk i. 1. 3 The word 'dry' is used in the sense of 'clear' or 'pure' What Bacon means is that our reasoning is biassed by our prejudices and feelings Cf *Adv Org*, i. 49, "The mind of man is not like a dry light, but it receives from the will and affections a taint which produces capricious or arbitrary sciences, for what a man wishes to be true, that he is inclined to believe to be true"

156 status, This form of the word occurs again in Essay xli 64, and in xxxvii. 38 Cf *Adv*, bk ii. 1. 2, and Shakespeare, *Julius Caesar*, iii. 2. 192.

167 that, that which

169 there is no such flatterer, etc. Cf Essay liii

172. manners, conduct See note on Essay iii 19
for, cf Essay iii 17

174 a man's self, see note on Essay vi 57

177 improper, unsuitable.

183 St. James, i. 23 Cf *Adv*, bk ii. 23. 23

Cf "O wad some power the giftie gie us

To see ourself as others see us'

It wad frae monie a blunder free us

An' foolish notion

What airs in dress and gait wad lea'e us,

And ev'n devotion!"—Burns

In a letter to Sir Edward Coke, Bacon says, "That which I have propounded to myself is, by taking this seasonable advantage, like a true friend, though far unworthy to be counted so, to shew you your true shape in a glass, and that not in a false one to flatter you, nor yet in one that should make you seem worse than you are, and so offend you, but in one made by the reflection of your own words and actions"

184 presently, immediately

185 favour, face

a man may think, etc The Latin translation has, "It is an old saying that eyes are better than an eye, though some deny it it is wisely said also that a looker on often sees more than one who is engaged in the game" Cf *Adv*, bk ii 21 7 Writing on the pacification of the English Church, Bacon says, "It is very true that these ecclesiastical matters are things not properly appertaining to my profession which I was not so inconsiderate but to object to myself but finding that it is many times seen that a man that standeth off, and somewhat removed from a plot of ground, doth better survey it and discover it than those which are upon it, I thought it not impossible, but that I, as a looker on, might cast mine eyes upon some things which the actors themselves, especially some being interested, some led and addicted, some declared and engaged, did not or could not see" Cf *Essay* xlviii 1 40 *seqq*

188 the twenty four letters, cf *Essay* xxxviii 15

190 fond and high, foolish and presumptuous Cf "to dis course *high*," *Essay* xix 133

191 when all is done, after all The Latin translation has "whatever may be said to the contrary"

199 entire, the Latin *integer*, literally untouched, entire so, sincere, honest

200 bowed, bent.

crooked, cf *Essay* xxiii 15

207 kind, cf *Essay* vi 47

209 estate, cf *Essay* ix 30

211 rest upon, depend upon

scattered counsels, advice from a number of people

218 to life, vividly We should say 'to the life'

219 to cast, to reckon

221 sparing, it fell short of the truth

222 for that, cf *Essay* xvi 54

223 in desire of, before they have attained

225 the bestowing, The Latin translation has "the marriage"

226. secure, sure. See note on Essay v 9

228 in his desires, so far as his desires are concerned If he dies before they are accomplished, his friend survives to carry them out

237 which are blushing, which cause a blush

238. proper, see note on Essay iii 30

240 upon terms, The Latin translation has "without loss of honour"

242. sorteth with, see note on Essay vi 5

ESSAY XXVIII OF EXPENSE

1 spending for honour, i.e. spending is for honour

3 voluntary undoing, etc. The Latin translation has "Voluntary poverty is due sometimes to one's country, and not only to the kingdom of heaven." Patriotism sometimes requires that we should make a sacrifice of our possessions

4 the kingdom of heaven, Bacon is thinking of such a passage as the following, "Then said Jesus unto his disciples, Verily I say unto you, That a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven"—*Matt* xix. 24 Cf Essay xiii 43

6 as, that

9 if a man, etc. The Latin translation has "if a man does not wish to suffer a diminution of his wealth" Literally it means "if a man wishes his income to equal his expenditure"

doubting, of Essay xvi 34

13 upon, by reason of Cf Essay ii 32

14 in respect, in case.

18. new, i.e. new servants

20 to certainties, The Latin translation explains it to mean that both his income and his expenditure should be fixed. It is only a man of leisure who can calculate from time to time how much he has, and how much, therefore, he can afford to spend at a given time or on a given object. Busy men must so invest their money as to return a fixed amount, and of this they must set aside a fixed amount for expenditure. Notice that the construction is irregular.

23 if he be plentiful in the hall, if he spend much upon his house

- 25 clearing, freeing from debt
- 26 a man's estate, see note on Essay vi 57
- - as well, quite as much.
- 28 disadvantageable, disadvantageous
- 32 who, he who
a state, a property

ESSAY XXIX OF THE TRUE GREATNESS OF KINGDOMS AND ESTATES

THIS Essay will be found incorporated in the *De Aug* viii 3. See my note on *Adv*, bk ii 23 47. In the Latin translation the title of the Essay is "On Extending the Limits of Empire." Wright remarks that the beginning of the Essay seems to have been the discourse "Of the True Greatness of the Kingdom of Britain," written in 1608, which was never completed, but was turned into a general treatise "Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates."

2 had been, would have been Cf 1. 266

4 He could not fiddle, cf *Adv*, bk i 3 8

6 holpen with a metaphor, if with a little assistance from the imagination we transfer it to politics. *Metaphor* is a Greek word signifying 'transference.' In *Adv*, bk i 7 17, he uses the Latin equivalent, 'translation,' 'Consider further, for tropes of rhetoric, that excellent use of a *metaphor or translation*, where with he taxed Antipater," etc.

7 estate, state

11 cunningly, skilfully This is the proper meaning of the word. In the English translation of the Bible we have, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget her *cunning*," i.e. skill

13 as, that Cf 1. 232

21 sufficient, capable

22 manage, a metaphor from horsemanship Cf Essay vi 26.

23 which, see note on Essay viii 5

27 an argument, a subject It is a Latinism

29 leese cf Essay xiv 141

31 fearful timid Cf Essay vi 78

33 doth fall under, admits of

37 cards, cf Essay xviii 39

40 is compared, viz., by Christ. *Matt* xiii 31.

42 a property, see note on Essay iii 30

44 apt, in its literal sense of 'fitted.'

51. importeth not, is not of much consequence. Cf Essay iii 51

55 This saying of Alexander is quoted again, *Adt*, bk i 7 17
The battle of Arbela was fought B C 330

58 Tigranes, King of Armenia, ascended the throne about the beginning of the first century B C. The battle referred to took place at Tigranocerta, the capital of Western Armenia, when Tigranes was defeated by the Roman Lucullus

63 ambassage, embassy

65 of the great odds between, how unequally matched are numbers and courage

69 trivially, tritely Cf Essay vii 1

71 Croesus, king of Lydia, B C 560 He was conquered by Cyrus the Persian Cf *Adv*, bk ii 23 38 In his Essay *Of the True Greatness of Britain*, Bacon quotes the same story, and remarks that "the records of all times do concur to falsify that conceit, that wars are decided not by the sharpest sword, but by the greatest purse"

74 think soberly of, have but a small opinion of
militia, army

77 they, i. e. the subjects

79 rest upon, depend upon

81 mew them, shed them moult It is the Latin *mutare*, 'to change'

82 The blessing, etc The Jewish patriarch Jacob before his death called his sons before him and foretold the character and destiny of each He described the warlike Judah as "a lion's whelp", but Isachar he described as "a strong ass crouching down between two burdens bowing his shoulder to bear, and becoming a servant unto tribute." *Genesis* xlix

87 less, The Latin translation adds "than those which are imposed simply by authority"

the excises, etc. In the Netherlands, in the seventeenth century, heavy duties were levied upon commodities to meet the expenses of the war with Spain

88 subsidies, the sums voted by Parliament

91 by imposing, by authority Cf Essay i 10

95 Lot states, etc Cf Essay xiv 23

100 staddles, young trees left standing in a wood after the underwood has been cleared away

103 poll, head

109 in regard, because

the middle people, the Latin translation has "the farmers and people of lower rank"

111 Henry the Seventh, Bacon in his history says that, at the time, large estates were growing up, and there was a general tendency to convert arable land into pasture. The result of this was "a decay of people and, by consequence, a decay of towns, churches, tithes, and the like." There ensued withal "a decay and diminution of subsidies and taxes." To remedy these defects it was ordered "that all houses of husbandry, that were used with twenty acres of ground, and upwards, should be maintained and kept up for ever, together with a competent proportion of land to be used and occupied with them." Bacon remarks upon the advantage of having these farms, as it were, of a standard. They maintained "an able body out of penury, and did, in effect, amortize a great part of the lands of the kingdom unto the hold and occupation of the yeomanry or middle people, of a condition between gentlemen and cottagers or peasants." Further, the military power of the kingdom was increased, for "the principal strength of an army consisteth in the infantry or foot and to make good infantry, it requireth men bred, not in a servile or indigent fashion, but in some free or plentiful manner." Cf *Spedding's Francis Bacon and His Times*, vol. I, pp. 209-10.

116 to keep the construction is irregular. Bacon means that one of the advantages of the system was that, under it, the land was tilled by the owner.

117 Nebuchadnezzar's tree, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, dreamt that he saw a large tree cut down all but the stump, which was left in the ground. The dream was interpreted to mean that he was to be deprived for a time of his empire. *Daniel* ix. 10.

118 it may hold etc. The sentence is loosely constructed. The meaning is "As for supposing that a handful of people can hold a large empire, such an empire must be short lived."

142 nice etc. i.e. they seldom naturalized. *Nice* fastidious. Cf Essay ii. 29.

143 they kept their compass, they confined their dominion within narrow limits.

145 their bounds were becomen etc. The Latin translation explains it to mean when their empire had so far extended

that the crowd of foreign subjects could not well be controlled by native Spartans For *becomen, of holpen*, Essay xx S2, *gotten*, ix 142

146 a windfall, anything thrown down by the wind

148 sorted, resulted

150 naturalization, Full Roman citizenship comprised the (*ius suffragii*) right of voting in the popular assemblies, the right of being eligible to all public offices (*ius honorum*), the right of contracting a regular marriage (*ius connubii*), and the right of acquiring, transferring, and holding property of all kinds according to the Roman laws (*ius commercii*) With regard to the third of these rights, no regular marriage could be contracted by parties between whom it did not exist For instance, in early times a marriage between a patrician and a plebeian would affect the status of the children The rights of citizenship in the first instance were possessed by the patricians only but they were from time to time extended to all who were likely to bring strength or influence to the community It was not until after a long struggle that the plebeians entered into the possession of full citizenship It was conferred at first by the king acting with the consent of the *Comitia Centuriata* During the flourishing period of the republic, when citizenship was valued and sought for, it could only be given by an express law When individual rulers like Marius and Sulla arose, they obtained and exercised freely the power of granting *civitas* Under the empire it was given by the Emperor, and at last Caracalla bestowed it on all the free inhabitants of the Roman world It had really come to be less valued when at the end of the Social War all the Italian states were admitted to it See Ramsay's *Roman Antiquities* In his *Discourse of the Union of England and Scotland*, Bacon says, "But that which is chiefly to be noted in the whole continuance of the Roman government, they were so liberal of their naturalizations, as in effect they made perpetual mixtures. For the manner was to grant the same, not only to particular persons, but to families and lineages, and not only so, but to whole cities and countries So as in the end it came to that, that Rome was a common country, as some of the civilians call it So likewise the authority of Nicholas Machiavel seemeth not to be contemned, who enquiring the causes of the growth of the Roman Empire, doth give judgment, there was not one greater than this, that the state did so easily compound and incorporate with strangers It is true, that most estates and kingdoms have taken the other course of which this effect hath followed, that the addition of further Empire and territory hath been rather matter of burden, than matter of strength unto them yea, and farther it hath kept alive the seeds and roots of revolts and rebellions for many ages For abilities and freedoms, they were amongst

the Romans of four kinds, or rather degrees *Jus connubii*, *jus civitatis*, *jus suffragii* and *jus petitionis* or *honorum* *Jus connubii* is a thing in these times out of use for marriage is open between all diversities of nations. *Jus civitatis* answereth to what we call denization or naturalization. *Jus suffragii* answereth to the voice in parliament. *Jus petitionis* answereth to place in council or office. And the Romans did many times sever these freedoms, granting *jus connubii* without *civitas*, and *civitas* without *suffragium*, and *suffragium* without *jus petitionis*, which was commonly with them the last. Again, in his speech of *The General Naturalization of the Scottish Nation*, he says, "Wheresoever several kingdoms or estates have been united in sovereignty, if that union hath not been fortified and bound in with a farther union, and namely, that which is now in question, of naturalization, this hath followed, that at one time or other they have broken again, being upon all occasions apt to revolt and relapse to the former separation." Bacon says the same thing in his *Essay Of the True Greatness of Britain*.

155 singular, single

157 colonies, The Roman colonies were mainly of the nature of military outposts established to secure newly acquired territory, or to overawe turbulent neighbours. They did of course produce the effect which Bacon ascribes to them.

158 plant, A colony is an offshoot of the mother country. Cf. *Essay* xxxiii.

159 both constitutions, viz., the practice of naturalizing, and the practice of colonizing. Bacon means that, instead of being subjected to an alien dominion, the whole world became Roman.

163 contain, keep in check

164 Sure, we must bear in mind

165 great body of a tree, the expression is of course suggested by the reference above to Nebuchadnezzar's "tree of monarchy."

169 indifferently, without distinction

169 militia, army. The application of Bacon's remarks to British policy in India is easy. A similar policy too was the secret of Akbar's success.

172 Pragmatical Sanction, Wright quotes Illius note *Bacon's Works* vol. i p. 798. "Soon after the accession of Philip IV a royal decree or *Pragmatica* was published which attempted to carry out some of the recommendations of the council, and which gave certain privileges to persons who married, and further immunities to those who had six children." Cf. my note on *Adr*, bk. i § 2.

177 travail, work

178 broken of it, checked or interfered with in this their natural inclination

If they shall be preserved, if they are to be preserved if we wish them to be preserved

179 it was great advantage, But it must be remembered that when the classes referred to were treated really as slaves, in our sense of the term, they constituted a serious political danger to the states of the ancient world

181 rid, dispose of

185 contain, confine

190 it importeth, cf Essay iii 51

191 their, notice the plural after the singular 'nation

193 habilitations, trainings

195 sent a present to, bequeathed to them the advice that

196 intend, devote their attention to Cf below, 'in that he most intendeth,' l 205

198 though not wisely, Bacon does not mean that they were unwise in framing it with a view to war, but that they did not frame it skilfully with a view to war

199 scope, Used in its literal sense of aim or object

200 had it, : c were organized with a view to war for a flash, for a short time.

203 declination, cf note on Essay xxii 76

205 that, used for *what* Cp Essay vi 39

206 stood upon, dwelt upon.

207 may look, can expect

209 oracle of time, a lesson of history

213 that greatness which maintained, : c., a greatness which maintained

217 just occasions as may be pretended, The Latin translation has "just occasions, or at least pretexts" Notice them after the singular 'state'

218 that, such

221 quarrels, grounds Cf Essay viii 48

225 they, observe the repetition of the nominative Cf Essay viii 37

227 pretend to greatness, make greatness their object

228 sensible of, cf Essay viii 21

borderers, The Latin translation has "dependents on the border" The Afghans are borderers on the Indian Empire

- 229 politic ministers, representatives of the state
they sit not too long, revenge must follow immediately
upon an insult
- 230 prest, ready
- 233 upon invasion offered, when threatened with invasion
- 237 conformity of estate, similarity of political institutions
Greece was throughout its history divided against itself The
attack of Philip of Macedon upon the liberties of Greek states
first afforded the Romans a pretext for interfering in the affairs
of Greece In earlier times, there was in every Greek state an
oligarchical party looking for assistance to Sparta, and a demo-
cratical party looking for assistance to Athens Desire to
strengthen the democratical and the oligarchical party respec-
tively in Greece was the real, if not the declared motive for many
of the wars in which Athens and Sparta engaged
- 247 body politic, state
estate, a republic, as distinguished from a monarchy
- 249 fever, cf *Hist Henry VII*, "When the King was
advertised of this new insurrection, being almost a fever that
took him every year, etc."
- 251 courages, spirits
effeminate, grow effeminate
- 252 manners, see note on Essay iii 19
corrupt, grow corrupt
- 253 it maketh, see note on Essay i 14
still, always
- 255 chargeable, expensive
- 256 the law, The Latin translation has "the power of de-
ciding matters"
- 260 abridgment, The Latin translation has "an epitome"
- 261 Pompey his, see note on Essay xix 86
- 264 Themistocles It was Themistocles who in the year 480
B.C. persuaded the Athenians to meet the invading Persians at sea
instead of on land
- 266 had, would have
- 268 Actium, By defeating Antony at Actium B.C. 31, Octavi-
anus, afterwards known as Augustus, became master of the Roman
world
- 269 Lepanto In the battle of Lepanto, 1571, the naval power
of Turkey was broken by the united Papal, Spanish, and Vene-
tian forces.

270 there be, cf 1 285 See note on Essay i 2
have been final to, have put an end to

271 set up their rest upon, have risked everything upon
Nares (*Glossary*) thus explains it "A metaphor from the once
fashionable and favourite game of *primero* meaning to stand
upon the cards you have in your hand, in hopes they may prove
better than those of your adversary" Quoted by Wright

279 merely, see note on Essay iii 66

283 in respect of, in comparison with

284 reflected, used intransitively

291. funeral laudatives, The student should read the famous
oration of Pericles, Thucyd ii 35

293 personal, granted to individuals These decorations were
granted for acts of distinguished gallantry in the field

style, title. Imperator (emperor) was originally a military
title. It was assumed first by Augustus to denote supreme power,
civil as well as military

294 triumphs, Roman generals, on their return from a suc-
cessful campaign, were sometimes allowed a triumphal procession
through the city to the temple of Jupiter The captives taken
in the war marched in the procession, in which also were carried
the spoils of the campaign

297 that of the triumph, notice that there is no noun to which
that properly refers The triumph is one of 'the things' referred
to in the previous sentence. Cf 32 31

298 gaudery, display

303 impropriate appropriate

308 ensigns, the Latin *insignia* badges, decorations

310 little model of a man's body i.e. man's body which is a
model on a small scale of the state For *of*, cf Essay xv 72

312. estates, see note on 1 247

315 touched, glanced at

ESSAY XXX OF REGIMENT OF HEALTH

Regiment, management

5 I find no offence of, it seems to do me no harm.

7 which are owing, etc. The Latin translation has "Which
nevertheless, when old age at last comes upon him, will be exacted
from him as a debt" For *owing*, cf *loading*, Essay xiii 56

- 8 discern of, discern, take account of
 11 it is a secret, etc , cf Essay xxiv 13
 15 so as, in such a way that
 18 particularly, for you individually
 21 of long lasting, to secure a long life Cf 1 42.
 23 fretting inwards, The Latin translation has "restrained within " Cf Essay xxxvi 3
 35 accident, symptom
 36 respect, consider Cf below, "they respect not the condition of the patient " See note on Essay xi 90
 37 action, exercise
 put to, force them to
 39 tendering, care
 Celsus, a writer on medicine, born B.C. 53
 47 masteries, The Latin translation has "will gain strength " He means that a strong constitution will conquer a disease
 48 pleasing, indulgent
 51 as, that
 52 temper, cf Essays vi 103 and xix 29
 55 faculty, skill, With the whole of this Essay the student should read Bacon's remarks on medicine, *Adv*, bk ii 10, and also his *History of Life and Death* Rawley, in his life of Bacon, says, "It hath been desired that something should be signified touching his diet, and the regimen of his health, of which, in regard of his universal insight into nature, he may perhaps be to some an example For his diet, it was rather a plentiful and liberal diet, as his stomach would bear it, than a restrained which he also commended in his book of the *History of Life and Death* In his younger years he was much given to the finer and lighter sorts of meats, as of fowls, and such like , but afterwards, when he grew more judicious, he preferred the stronger meats, such as the shambles afforded, as those meats which bred the more firm and substantial juices of the body, and less dissippable , upon which he would often make his meal, though he had other meats upon the table You may be sure he would not neglect that himself, which he so much extolled in his writings, and that was the use of nitre , whereof he took in the quantity of three grains in thin warm broth every morning, for thirty years together next before his death And for physic, he did indeed live physically, but not miserably , for he took only a maceration of rhubarb, infused into a draught of white wine and beer mingled together for the space of half an hour, once in six or seven days, immedi

ately before his meal (whether dinner or supper), that it might dry the body less ; which (as he said) did carry away frequently the grosser humours of the body, and not diminish or carry away any of the spirits, as sweating doth And this was no grievous thing to take As for other physic, in an ordinary way (what soever hath been vulgarly spoken) he took not."

ESSAY XXXI OF SUSPICION

3. guarded, kept under control
4. lease, cause the loss of
check with, interfere with Cf Essay \ 49
5. currently, uninterruptedly Bacon says of James I "His speech is swift and *cursor*," i.e. *fluent*
7. not in the heart, i.e. they do not imply want of courage
8. stoutest, most courageous
11. composition, temperament. See note on Essays vi 103 and xix 29
13. fearful, timid Cf Essay \ 78
16. and not to keep, and should not keep *To* is redundant Cf. Essay xxiv 37
to keep in smother, to stifle The Latin translation has "for suspicions are fostered by smoke and darkness" Our suspicions of a man are often seen to be unfounded when we come to know his motives and to understand the circumstances in which he is placed In a letter to Sir Robert Cecil Bacon says, "I trust on, and yet do not smother what I hear"
17. Do they think, etc. The Latin translation has "Do they think that all whose services they engage, or with whom they have dealings, are angels or saints?"
21. to account upon such suspicions as true, The Latin translation has "to provide remedies as if they were true"
23. as, that.
25. buzzes, The Latin translation has "empty noises"
26. artificially, The Latin translation has "by the arts of others."
33. would, we should say *should* Cf Essay iii 148
36. gives license to faith, frees men from the obligation to be loyal
38. discharge itself, free itself from suspicion A man who finds himself suspected should be the more eager to show that the suspicion is undeserved

ESSAY XXXII OF DISCOURSE

1 of wit, for their ingenuity

2 to hold, etc, to support any argument

5 common places, subjects The word *place* in the sense of *subject* is suggested by the Latin word *locus*, which means both a *place* and a *subject* *Topic* is the Greek *topos*, which means a *place*

8 moderate, control the discourse Cf Essay xxv 32

11 intermingle, etc A skilful talker will know how to introduce considerations of general interest to illustrate and relieve the monotony of the immediate subject of conversation

14 jade, over drive The Latin translation has "when a man dwells too long on a subject, he becomes wearisome"

20 would be, ought to be The line which follows is from Ovid, *Met*, ii 127

21 saltiness, wit The Latin word *sal*, salt, is used in this sense

25 he, notice the repetition of the subject Cf Essay viii. 37

27 content, please others

28 apply, suit

31 that the habit of putting awkward questions See note on Essay xxix 207

32 a poser, one who puts questions The Latin translation has "an examiner" Cf Essay xxii 68

33 would, wishes to

35 use to, cf Essay xi 237

36 galliards, the name of a dance

If you dissemble, etc Cf *Adv*, bk ii 13 4 "Socrates used to disguise his knowledge, to the end to enhance his knowledge" In the corresponding passage in the *De Aug* Bacon adds—"By denying that he knew things which he manifestly did know, he thought that he would get the reputation of knowing things which he really did not know"

37, 38 that for 'that which,' cf Essay vi 39

41 pretendeth, lays claim

Speech of touch towards others malicious sayings about others

46 as a field The Latin translation has "Conversation should be like an open field in which one may walk about not like the highway which leads home"

50 a dry blow, a jest

54 agreeably, suitably

56 interlocution, conversation Conversation, above all things, requires readiness The man who does not possess it is compared below to the greyhound He can run on, but cannot turn about

57. without a good settled speech, without the power of speaking continuously A man may be clever enough to keep up a conversation, though his knowledge is not sufficient to afford material for a continuous speech Such a man is compared below to the hare He can turn about, but cannot run on Cf *Adi*, bk. ii 14 6 "The difference is good which was made between orators and sophisters, that the one is as the greyhound, which hath his advantage in the race, and the other as the hare, which hath her advantage in the turn, so as it is the advantage of the weaker creature"

59 in the course, in running

61 to use too many circumstances, to dwell too much upon incidental matters connected with the main subject of the speech

63 blunt, The Latin translation has "is abrupt and unpleasant" Cf Essay xxi 37 Of Bacon's own conversation Rawley says, "He was no dashing man, as some men are (he did not use his wit, as some do, to put others out of countenance,) but ever a countenancer and fosterer of another man's parts Neither was he one that would appropriate the speech wholly to himself, or delight to outvie others, but leave a liberty to the coassessors to take their turns Wherein he would draw a man on and allow him to speak upon such a subject, as wherein he was peculiarly skilful, and would delight to speak And for himself, he contented no man's observations, but would light his torch at every man's candle His opinions and assertions were for the most part binding, and not contradicted by any, rather like oracles than discourses, which may be imputed either to the well weighing of his sentence by the scales of truth and reason, or else to the reverence and estimation wherein he was commonly had, that no man would contest with him, so that there was no argumentation, or *pro* and *con* (as they term it) at his table or if there chanced to be any, it was carried with much submission and moderation"

ESSAY XXXIII OF PLANTATIONS

1 Plantations, colonies. See note on Essay xix 158

2 When the world, etc This sounds strange when we look at the vast Colonial Empire of Great Britain, which began with the

charter given to Virginia in 1606. We must remember too that "there was once a Greater Spain, a Greater Portugal, a Greater France, and a Greater Holland, as well as a Greater Britain, but from various causes these four Empires have either perished or have become insignificant. Greater Spain disappeared, and Greater Portugal lost its largest province, Brazil, half a century ago in wars of independence similar to that which tore from us our American colonies. Greater France and a large part of Greater Holland were lost in wars and became merged in Greater Britain." With Bacon's metaphor contrast the following explanation—"The appropriation by a settled community of lands on the other side of an ocean is wholly different from the gradual diffusion of a race (the Greeks) over a continuous territory or across narrow seas. Slight motives calling into operation moderate forces may suffice for the latter, but the former demands a prodigious leverage. In the life of Columbus it may be remarked that he needs the help of the state at every turn. It is the state which has equipped him and paid the expense of the discovery. Moreover when the discovery is made, it is observable that no irresistible impulse prompts the European to take advantage of it. When the floodgates are thrown open, there is no stream ready to flow, for in Europe at that time there was no superfluous population seeking an outlet, only individual adventurers ready to go in search of gold. Columbus can make no progress but by proving to the sovereigns that the territory he discovers will yield revenue to them." Seeley, *The Expansion of England*. For the origin and nature of Roman Colonies, see note on Essay xxix 157.

9 to lease, to lose Cf Essay xix 141

13 stand with, be consistent with

20 certify over, etc. The Latin translation has "Will send home news calculated to harm and discredit the colony." Some of the Australian colonies have within recent years complained of parts of their territory being turned into penal settlements. In his *Advice to Sir George Villiers*, Bacon says, "If any transplants themselves into plantations abroad, who are known schismatics, outlaws, or criminal persons, they are to be sent for back upon the first notice such persons are not fit to lay the foundation of a new colony."

24 a country of plantation, where a colony is to be founded

25 of itself, The Latin translation has "without cultivation"

28 victual, we should use *victuals* Cf 1 40

esculent, the Latin word for *edible*

30 Hierusalem, Jerusalem

31 For, as for Cf below, "For beasts," etc.

33 ask, cf Essay vi 2

35 a great increase, abundant crops

42 certain, fixed

let the main part, etc This is put more clearly in the Latin. "Of the ground which is turned into gardens or corn land let the largest part be assigned to public granaries and let the crops be stored in these granaries and divided in a fixed proportion Care however must be taken that there shall be some portions of ground left on which the industry of individuals may find employment." For *to* we should say *for*

44 to be laid, cf Essay xxiv 37.

46. manure, cultivate

for his own private, for himself *Private* is a substantive

48 that they may some way, etc The Latin translation has "that part of the expenditure may be met by exporting them to places where they are highly valued."

49 so, provided that. The order of this and the following sentence is inverted in the Latin translation

As was said, l 10

51 wood, etc The Latin translation has "In unoccupied districts forests for the most part abound and therefore wood suited for building, for ships, and other such purposes is to be reckoned one of the chief commodities "

54. brave, fine

55 would be, etc., ought to be tried The Latin translation has "the making of black salt by the heat of the sun "

56 growing silk, vegetable silk. It is the produce of the silk-cotton tree of South America. (W)

if any be, if there is any

57. are, notice the plural verb For 'to be' in the sense of 'to exist,' cf Essay iii 95 ; we should say 'where there is abundance of,' etc.

59 soap ashes, etc The Latin translation has "Ashes which men use for soap would yield large profits. So too would other things which may be discovered.

60 moll, work. The Latin translation has, "Trust not too much to mines, especially at first. For mines are deceptive and costly, and by fostering fair hopes they render men idle in other things."

81 useth, cf Essay xv 237

65 Above all, etc. Solitude is, or should be, favourable to religious meditation

temperate, male etc

71 for they look over etc We are reminded of the pressure which the Directors of the East India Company often brought to bear upon their servants

72 custom duties on exports and imports. Blount recommended James I to grant to the colonists in Ireland "liberty to transport any of the commodities growing upon the country now planted, liberty to import from hence all things appertaining to their necessary use custom free liberty to take timber and other materials in your Majesty's woods there and the like"

74 makes their best of them we should say, 'make the most they can of them, i.e. sell them most profitably

77 how they waste, how their population decreases

78 by surcharge, through excess of population

81 marish marsh lit more fish, full of meres or pools

83 discommodities, inconveniences

still, always

85 that they may use it, etc The Latin translation has "with which to season food that would probably go bad without it" Notice *they* after the singular *plantation* Cf Essay xxix

216

88 gingles, rattles

89 guard, caution

90 it is not amiss, viz to help them

91 of them, i.e. some of them

96 Placed, cf Essay iii 101

97 destitute, desert a Latinism

99 commiserable, miserable and deserving of pity Cf "This was also the end of this noble and commiserable person, the Earl of Warwick"—*Hist Henry VIII*

ESSAY XXXIV OF RICHES

1 better, The Latin translation has "by a more appropriate name"

2 impedimenta, The Latin word signifying 'baggage' means literally 'a hindrance.'

7 conceit, opinion

8 The personal fruition, etc When a certain point has been reached, any additional wealth contributes nothing to the personal enjoyments of the owner He can hoard it he can divide it he can make presents he may be talked about but, as he already had enough to satisfy every want and gratify every taste, so far as he personally is concerned, it is of no real use to him It may be worth while to point out that in the language of political economy *use* means *capacity to satisfy a desire* it is not opposed to pleasure Diamonds therefore have a very great 'value in use'

12 feigned, fictitious, fanciful

14 because, in order that

20 proud riches, riches which serve only for display, since they exceed what is required for use

22 abstract, The Latin translation has "such as is felt by a person *who has withdrawn himself from the world*" This is the literal meaning of the Latin word *abstractus*

32 Pluto, the god of the lower world

34 pace, advance

36 tumbling, cf "No man I suppose will think that I mean fortunes are not obtained without all this ado, for I know they come tumbling into some men's laps" *Adv bk ii 23 43*

37 mought, might Cf Essay xv 184

39 upon speed, quickly

40 to enrich, to grow rich

49 collier, owner of coal mines

corn master, corn owner

50 lead'man, owner of lead mines

so, cf Essay xviii 21

51 husbandry, cf Essay xv 131

So as, so that

52 in respect of, cf Essay xviii 88

53 himself, he himself, viz., the speaker

54 when a man's stock, etc, when a man is so rich that he

can afford to wait for a favourable market and can secure bargains which are beyond the means of ordinary men, etc.

55 expect, as in Latin, to wait for

56 overcome, lit. make his own

58 mainly, greatly Cf. Essay xi 69

63 broke, dealt, do business. The meaning is, "When a man bribes other men's servants to induce their masters to sell to him, and puts out of the way others who would have offered a higher price."

64 chapmen, purchasers Cf.

"Beauty is bought by judgment of the eye,

Not uttered by base sale of chapmen's tongues."

Sh. *Love's Labour's Lost*, ii 1

Ben Jonson uses the form *cooperman* of *to chop*, *Exemplar* 81. *To chop* or *chop* meant to exchange, from *coop*, a market Cf.

"How now, how now chop logic! What is this?"

Sh. *Love's Labour's Lost*, iii 5 150.

65 naught, bad

66 the seller and upon the buyer, i.e. the person who sells it to, and the person who buys it from him who bought it to re-sell

67 usury, cf. Essay xli

74 for that, because

value, exaggerate the wealth of

unsound, whose credit is not good

70 Play the true logician, cf. "The arts intellectual are four in number, divided according to the ends whereunto they are referred for man's labour is to invent (discover) that which is sought or propounded or to judge that which is invented or to retain that which is judged or to deliver over (teach) that which is retained" *Adv.*, bk. ii 12 3

80 fit, favourable

81 resteth upon, cf. Essay xxix 70.

85 coemption, buying up

89 it, i.e. the acquisition of wealth by service. The structure of the sentence is irregular throughout

though it be of the best rise. The Latin translation has "has a dignity of its own" 'Rise' is used in the sense of 'source'. The Latin translation adds "of kings and nobles" after "service"

90 They, cf. Essay viii 37

92. Tacitus, *Annals*, viii. 42.

97 and none worse, etc. The Latin translation has "Nor will you find anywhere people more tenacious than these are when they begin to grow rich."

98 penny wise, stingy in small things. Cf the phrase "penny wise and pound foolish."

101 the better stablished, i. e. unless his strength of mind is in proportion to his wealth. The better, the richer he is, the more he requires the experience of age.

105 glorious, ostentatious, like the Latin *gloriosus*

sacrifices without salt, In the letter referred to in the last note on this Essay, Bacon says, "I find it a positive precept of the old (Jewish) law, that there should be no sacrifice without salt the moral whereof, besides the ceremony, may be, that God is not pleased with the body of a good intention, except it be seasoned with that spiritual wisdom and judgment, as it be not easily subject to be corrupted and perverted" for salt, in the Scripture, is a figure both of wisdom and lasting."

106 painted, fair on the outside only. It is suggested by the Scriptural expression 'a whited sepulchre.'

107 corrupt, cf Essay xxix 252.

108 advancements, gifts

frame them by measure, let the gift be in proportion to the object. In *Adv*, bk. ii 1 2, he talks of works and acts "which are rather matters of magnificence and memory than of progression and proficience." In illustration of Bacon's meaning the student should not fail to read a very important letter written by Bacon to King James on the subject of a legacy left by a man called Sutton for the foundation of a hospital. The letter is given in Spedding's *Francis Bacon and His Times*, pp 647 654.

ESSAY XXXV OF PROPHECIES

1 divine prophecies, On the subject of Scriptural prophecies Bacon says (*Adv*, bk. ii 3 2), "History of prophecy consisteth of two relatives, the prophecy and the accomplishment, and therefore the nature of such a work ought to be, that every prophecy of the Scripture be sorted with the event fulfilling the same, throughout the ages of the world, both for the better confirmation of faith, and for the better illumination of the Church touching those parts of prophecies which are yet unfilled, allowing nevertheless that latitude which is agreeable and

moments of time turn a sea of quicksilver or other maternal into gold So it is more probable that he that knoweth the nature of arefaction, the nature of assimilation of nourishment to the thing nourished, the manner of increase and clearing of spirits, the manner of the depredations which spirits make upon the humours and solid parts, shall by ambages of diets, bathings, anointings, medicines, motions, and the like, prolong life, or restore some degree of youth or vivacity, than that it can be done with the use of a few drops or scruples of a liquor or receipt The true natural magic is that great liberty and latitude of operation which dependeth upon the knowledge of forms (causes) " Of astrology Bacon says, "It pretendeth to discover that correspondence or concatenation which is between the superior globe and the inferior," *Adv*, bk 1 4 11 In the *De Aug* he regrets, in the sphere of physic, the absence of a rational astrology based on physical laws. In his time he complains that "astrology was so full of fictions that he could scarcely find anything sound in it" Bacon believed himself that it might enable us to predict not only natural phenomena, such as frosts, floods, earthquakes, etc., but wars, seditions, schisms, transmigrations of peoples, and, in short, all commotions or great revolutions of things, natural as well as civil He thought also that it might be of use in the choice of favourable times for undertakings. "We must not," he says, "altogether reject the choice of times, though we should place less reliance on it than on predictions For we see that in sowing, and planting, and grafting, an observation of the age of the moon is a thing not altogether to be despised " Bacon gives his views at some length in the *De Aug*, bk iii ch 4 Cf Sir Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, bk 1 ch 10, and *Religio Medici*, § 30

50 was slain, Henry II of France was killed at a tournament in 1559

52 trivial, common Cf Essay xii 1

57 whereby it was conceived, which was interpreted to mean that, etc

58 principal, initial Lat *principium*, a beginning

62 for that, cf Essay xvi 54 See below, 1 72
style, title

of Britain, in consequence of the union of England and Scotland.

66 the Baugh, "Mr Daniel has suggested to me that the 'Baugh' is probably the Bass Rock, and the 'May' the Isle of May in the Frith of Forth" (W),

68 when that, when See Essay xv 53

73 Regiomontanus, Johannes Müller He is called Regiomontanus, i.e. of the royal mount, because he was born at Königsberg, i.e. the king's hill The date of the prophecy was A.D. 1475 (W)

79 Cleon, a prominent democrat in Athens in the fifth century B.C. He was of low birth and a leather seller by trade The comic dramatist Aristophanes in his play of *The Knights*, v. 195 seqq. introduces an oracle to the effect that "a dragon shall get the better of the leather eagle," i.e. of Cleon The dragon, he goes on to explain, symbolizes a sausage seller, "for both a dragon and a sausage are long"

81 of, for 'by'

88 the spreading or publishing, cf. the end of the last Essay in the book.

89 in no sort, not at all, in no way

91 given them grace, brought them into favour

92. men mark, etc. Cf. *Adv.* bk. II 14 9, "The root of all superstition is that to the nature of the mind of all men it is consonant for the affirmative or active to affect more than the negative or privative. So that a few times hitting or presence countervails oftentimes failing or absence; as was well answered by Diagoras to him that showed him in Neptune's temple the great number of pictures of such as had escaped shipwreck, and had paid their vows to Neptune, saying, *Advise now, you that think it folly to invoke Neptune in tempest* Yea, but (saith Diagoras) *where are they painted that are drowned?*"

96 divination is discussed in the *Adv.* bk. II 11 2 It is either artificial or natural The first is a prophecy based upon some sign or argument, whether on a mere coincidence, as in heathen auguries, or on a knowledge of causes, as in the prediction of an eclipse by an astronomer Natural divination is that foresight with which, under certain conditions, the mind is supposed to be endowed This also is of two kinds. Firstly, when the mind is self absorbed, and not distracted, it is thought that it may see into the future, in which case the divination is primitive Secondly, it is thought that in certain ecstatic states of mind the future is revealed to it by God and spirits, in which case the divination is by inspiration.

97. collect, infer A Latinism.

102. Atlanticus, the treatise commonly known as the *Critias* amongst, might Cf. Essay xv 184 In the two treatises referred to Plato mentions a tradition that there had existed a vast island in the Atlantic, which was afterwards submerged.

ESSAY XXXVI OF AMBITION

3 his, cf Essay vii 86

4 adust, parched "Anger, when checked, is a kind of torment, and makes the spirit prey upon the juices of the body, but when left to itself and allowed to escape, it is beneficial" *History of Life and Death*, § 85 Cf Essay xxx 22, "Avoid anger fretting inwards"

6 still, continually Cf below, "That they be still progressive"

they, cf Essay viii 37

8 discontent, discontented Cf Essay viii 36

an evil eye, cf Essay ix

10 property, see note on Essay iii 30

a prince or state, a king or a republic Cf Essay ix 150

11 to handle it so as, so to manage matters that

12 which it, cf Essay xxxi 37

15 they will take order to, they will endeavour to

17 upon, cf Essay ii 32, and below, l 67

18 of necessity, necessary

19 be they never so, etc, no matter how ambitious they may be

20 dispenseth with, makes up for other defects

23 envy, unpopularity

24 seeled, blinded by having its eyes sewn up Ambition blinds men to danger and unpopularity

28 Sejanus, the friend and minister of Tiberius When the emperor became jealous and suspicious of him, Macro took his place as commander of the prætorian guards.

29 resteth, remains.

30 of, for 'from'

32 popular, cf Essay xv 243 Shakespeare makes Richard II say of Bolingbroke that he

"Observed his courtship to the common people,
How he did seem to dive into their hearts
With humble and familiar courtesy,
What reverence he did throw away on slaves,
 wooing poor craftsmen with the craft of smiles
And patient underbearing of his fortune,
As 'twere to banish their affects with him
Off goes his bonnet to an oyster wench,
A brace of draymen bid God speed him well,

And had the tribute of his supple knee,
 With 'Thanks, my countrymen, my loving friends,'
 As were our England in reversion his,
 And he our subjects' next degree in hope "

36 when the way, etc When the king distributes favours and the reverse through the favourite Bacon is probably thinking of the position of Buckingham Cf Bacon's letter to him, given in Spedding's *Francis Bacon and His Times*, vol ii p 151

39 to balance them, "In the government of states it is sometimes necessary to bridle one faction with another" *Adv*, bk ii 22 6 For the metaphor of 'the ship,' cf Essay x 48

43 inure, accustom

44 obnoxious, liable Cf Essay xx 105

45 fearful, timid Cf Essay vi 78

46 stout, bold Cf Essay xxxi 8

48 that, coupled with 'if' See note on Essay xi 53

51 of ambitions, etc Of the different forms of ambition, that which aims at prevailing in great things is less harmful than that, etc

55 dependences, followers Cf Essay x 70

59 the decay, used transitively, as we use 'ruin'

61 a man's, see note on Essay vi 57

63 discern of, cf Essay xxx 8

65 princes and states, cf Essay ix 150

66 sensible of, sensitive to The Latin translation has "more led by" Cf Essay viii 21

67 bravery, love of display

68 busy, meddling

discern, used in its proper sense of distinguish

ESSAY XXXVII OF MASQUES AND TRIUMPHS

Masques and Triumphs Bacon himself had a great fancy for these On the occasion of the marriage of a princess in 1612 he was the chief contriver of a masque presented by the Inns of Court, the subject of which was the marriage of the Thames and the Rhine. At Christmas, 1593, Bacon took part in "*divers plots and devices*" arranged by the students at Gray's Inn A description of the entertainment is given in Spedding's *Francis Bacon and His Times*, vol i p 137 *seqq* At another time he took part in arranging "*a device*" for the entertainment of Queen

Elizabeth See *Ibid* vol i p 173 Both Elizabeth and James were extremely fond of these performances The best known masques are those of Ben Jonson In the introduction to one of them he says, "Two years being now past, that her Majesty had intermitted these delights, and the third almost come, it was her Highness's pleasure again to glorify the court, and command that I should think on some fit presentment," etc

1 toys, cf 1 54, and Essay xix 12

3 daubed with cost, extravagantly showy 'To daub' means properly 'to plaster'

6 broken music, Mr Chappell, in his *Popular Music of the Olden Times*, explained this to mean music on stringed instruments, "the term originating probably from harps, lutes, and such other stringed instruments as were played without a bow, not having the capability to sustain a long note to its full duration of time" But in a note on Shakespeare, *Henry V*, i 11 127, where the expression also occurs, Mr Wright explains that Mr Chappell subsequently changed his opinion and gave the following explanation Some instruments, such as viols, violins, flutes, etc, were formerly made in sets of four, which when played together formed 'a consort' If one or more of the instruments of one set were substituted for the corresponding ones of another set, the result was no longer 'a consort' but 'broken music.'

7 ditty, song It is the Latin *dictum*, a word

device, This was the common name for such pageants

acting in song, as in a modern opera, where the actors sing instead of speaking

9 dancing in song, i e to dance and sing at the same time, as distinguished from *dancing to song*, which means that one person sings and another dances

10 would be, ought to be.

12 dainty, pretty

13 taking the voice by catches, singing one after another Sacred music is often sung in this way in churches

anthem is a corruption of *antiphon*, alternate voices.

14 turning dances into figure, inventing complicated dances Thus we find in one of Ben Jonson's masques that the characters, "dancing forth a most curious dance, full of excellent device and change, ended it in the figure of a diamond"

15 curiosity, cf Essay ix 17

And generally, etc I am describing what is naturally attractive, without regard to mere artifices for exciting surprise For respect, see note on Essay vi 90,

18. so, provided that

22 let the maskers, etc. The *scène* (Latin *scena*, a stage) was a raised platform. It could be turned round each face of it presenting a different scene. When the curtain rose the spectators saw upon the *scène* a group of allegorical figures with appropriate surroundings as in a modern *tableau vivant*. These figures first moved in dumb show (motions) and then some or all of them came down from the scene, and in speech or song explained the meaning of the symbolical representation.

25 that, for what. Cf. Essay vi. 79.

30 oes, bright round spots. Cf. Shakespeare, *Mid. Night Dream* iii. 2—

“Fair Helena, that more engulfs the night
Than all yon fiery oes and eyes of light.

spangs, spangles.

31 they, cf. Essay viii. 37

35 anti masques. An anti-masque was a grotesque interlude between the acts of the masque, to which it served as a foil and contrast: and hence its name. But Jonson uses *anti masque*, i. e. a masque in which *antæ* or grotesque figures took part, but it is uncertain whether this is the true etymology (W). Ben Jonson in an introduction to one of his masques says—“And because her Majesty (best knowing that a principal part of life in these spectacles, lay in their variety) had commanded me to think on some dance or show that might precede hers, and *have the price of a first or false masque*. I was careful to decline, not only from others, but mine own steps in that kind since the last year I had an antimasque of boys and therefore now devised that twelve women, in the habit of hags or witches, sustaining the persons of Ignorance, Suspicion, Credulity, etc. the opposites to good fame, should fill that part not as a masque, but a spectacle of strangeness, producing multiplicity of gesture and not unaptly sorting with the current, and whole tide of the device.”

37 turquets, little figures representing Turks.

38. statues, cf. Essay xviii. 156

45. jousts and tournaments, cf. “The very practice of chivalry in jousts and tournaments which are but images of martial action, appear by ancient precedents not to be lawful without the king's license obtained. *Decree of the Star Chamber against Dice*. The chief difference between a tourney and a joust was that the former was an encounter between bodies of men, and the latter between single combatants. They were rapidly going out of fashion in Bacon's time.

18 barriers, the lists within which a tournament was fought, and so, the fight itself Nares, *Glossary*, s. 1 A mimic fight was sometimes part of a masque Ben Jonson introduces a *solemnity of barriers*, in which two parties ranged on opposite sides of the hall tilt across a bar

52 bravery, finery

ESSAY XXXVIII OF NATURE IN MEN

1 Nature, disposition and character

2 in the return, i. e. when the force is withdrawn

3 doctrine, cf. Essay ix 54

importance, importunate Cf. Essay ix 160

6 often, equivalent to an adjective frequent

7 a small proceedor, one who makes small progress

8 though by often prevailings, although he generally succeed
With this passage cf. *Adi*, bk. ii 19 2 and bk. ii 22 8 12

11 if the practice, etc., i. e., if a man trains himself to do more difficult things than he is ever required to do

14 in time, i. e. in respect of time We must not act immediately upon a natural impulse

15 when he was angry, The Latin translation adds 'before he did anything' Cf. Essay xxxii 188

21 optimus ille, etc. Ovid, *Remedies for Love*, v 293

34 lay, for 'he'

37 the board, the table

39 put himself to, i. e. accustom himself to the temptation
The habitual drunkard finds it hard to abstain from wine when it is offered to him He is *moved with it*, i. e. he finds it difficult to resist it

41 privateness, The Latin translation has 'in his intercourse with his friends.'

affectation, see note on Essay i 3

in passion, cf. *Adi*, bk. ii 23 18

44 sort with, suit Cf. Essay vi 5

45 my soul, etc. *Psalms* cxx 6, "My soul hath long dwelt with him that hateth peace" Bacon often quotes the words in the sense of "My mind has long been employed upon (*conversed in*) uncongenial subjects" Writing to Sir Thomas Bodley, Bacon says, "I think no man may more truly say with the

28 queching, The Latin translation has "uttering a cry" But Nares in his *Glossary* says that 'to quick' or 'quech' means to 'stir or twist' He quotes—

" Like captived thrall
With a strong iron chain and collar bound,
That once he could not move nor *quick* at all."

Spenser, *F Q*, v 9 33

32 it had been so used, that had been the custom

34 engaged, bound Properly the word means 'bound by a pledge'

44 take the ply, he bent in any direction

47 simple, applied to individuals and not to numbers (*copulate*) In his discussion on poetry in the *De Aug*, Bacon remarks that men, when gathered together in numbers, are much more open to impressions than when they are alone

50 comforteth, strengthens

51 in his exaltation, at its height *Exaltation* was a technical term in astrology, signifying that position of a planet in which its influence is greatest For his, see note on Essay xix 86

54 Commonwealth, A man asked Pythagoras what was the best education he could give his son and the sage replied, "Make him a citizen of a well governed state"

ESSAY XL OF FORTUNE

1 but, equivalent to 'that'

to fortune, The Latin translation has "to promote or depress men's fortunes" With what follows cf *Adv*, bk ii 23 10

2 fitting virtue, favourable to the display of any good qualities a man may possess

10 apparent, conspicuous

12 deliveries, literally, modes of extricating himself from difficulties Bacon means simply a power of checking any tendency or characteristic in ourselves, which, if allowed free play, would interfere with our success Cf *Adv*, bk ii 23 33

14 stonds, hindrances In *Adv*, bk ii 22 10, he talks of "knots and stonds of the mind" The sentence beginning "when there be," etc, explains what he means by "certain deliveries" or "desemboltura" For the metaphor which follows cf *Adv*, bk ii 23 33 "But from whatsoever root or cause this restive

ness of mind proceedeth, it is a thing most prejudicial, and nothing is more politic than to make the wheels of our mind concentric and voluble with the wheels of fortune "

15 that, joined with 'when' See note on Essay xv 53

21 falleth upon that, notes the fact

33 properties, see note on Essay iii 30

36 without, outside

38 remover, a restless man

39 exercised, practised

40 and it be but for, if only for the sake of Cf Essay xxiii 32

41 Confidence and Reputation, The Latin translation adds, "And these in their turn breed courage and influence "

42. felicity, good fortune

43. to decline the envy, to turn aside the unpopularity With this passage cf *Adv*, bk ii 23 11

" use to, cf Essay xv 237

48 You carry, etc These words were addressed by Cæsar to a boatman who hesitated to take him across from Greece to Italy, B.C 49

52. infortunate, cf Essay iv 41

Timotheus took a leading part in the arrangement of an alliance between Athens and Thebes against Sparta, B.C 378

54 interlaced, introduced into his speech the saying that, etc Cf Essay xi 72

56 there be whose, there are some whose Cf Essay i 2

57 have a slide and easiness, The Latin translation has "flow more easily."

59 in respect of, cf xxix 283

60 it is much, depends to a great extent upon ourselves In his life of Timoleon, Plutarch says that "as the verses of other poets appear laboured when compared with those of Homer, which, besides their force and grace, have the appearance of having been composed with ease, so, compared with the painful campaigns of Agesilaus and Epaminondas, those of Timoleon, combining ease with honour, appear to those who judge rightly to have been the result not of fortune, but of fortunate virtue " Timoleon was an inhabitant of Corinth, his victories effected the liberation of Sicily about the middle of the fourth century B.C. Epaminondas, the great Theban general, died B.C 362, and Agesilaus of Sparta, B.C. 361

ESSAY VLI OF USURY

1 Witty, cf iii 57

Usury, Used simply to denote 'lending at interest,' not necessarily 'usurious interest,' which opinion would still condemn. The opinion of the Christian world was hostile to loans on interest, partly on account of a clause in the Mosiac law which forbade Jews to take interest from Jews. But in early times the feeling was strong and general. Nor need we wonder at it. Grote points out that, in a primitive society, borrowers were generally distressed men soliciting aid, so that a loan on interest presented the repulsive idea of making profit out of the distress of the borrower. *History of Greece*, vol iii p 109. In Greece and Rome the predominance of military interests engendered a feeling of contempt for anything connected with trade, and in the minds of men like Plato and Aristotle this feeling was strengthened by the conviction that the best elements in human nature can only find satisfaction in a life of artistic and philosophic culture. In the Middle Ages the hatred of interest was intensified by the unpopularity of the Jews, who were the chief money lenders. Under the conditions of modern industrial organization loans at interest are contracts entered into voluntarily, as beneficial to both parties. The prohibition of them would paralyze trade. It may of course be argued that for the protection of borrowers the state ought to fix a maximum rate of interest. But the answer to this is that usury laws are generally evaded, with the effect of enhancing the rate of interest, that the interests of embarrassed men cannot outweigh the general interests of industry, and that the interests of solvent men are best secured by the free competition of the money market. See Walker, *Political Economy*, pt vi ch 1. With the opening of this Essay cf Essay xxxiv 69.

3 the tithe, Ten per cent was the rate sanctioned by an Act passed under Henry VIII. Under Edward VI usury was forbidden, but the rate of ten per cent was again sanctioned under Elizabeth. It was not until the present reign that usury laws were altogether abolished. By the Mosiac law a tenth of every man's substance was offered to God. Cf "This incessant and sabbathless pursuit of a man's fortune leaveth not tribute which we owe to God of our time, who (we see) demandeth a tenth of our substance, and a seventh, which is more strict, of our time." *Adv*, bk ii 23 46.

11 in the sweat, etc. The necessity of labour was one of the penalties inflicted by God upon man at the time of the fall of Adam. Cf "If it be admitted that imagination hath power, and that ceremonies fortify imagination, and that they be used sincerely and intentionally for that purpose, yet I should hold

them unlawful, as opposing to that first edict which God gave unto man, *In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread* " *Adi*, bk ii 11 2.

12 orange tawny, Yellow was the distinctive colour worn by the Jews.

13 they do judaize, The Jews were the great money lenders. It is against nature, by a quibble derived from the Greek word *zōkos*, which means both *interest* and *oppression*, Aristotle condemns interest on the ground that, money being by nature barren, it is unnatural to make it fructify Cf Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, i 3 94—

"*Ant* Is your gold and silver ewes and rams?"

"*Shy* I cannot tell—I make it breed as fast "

and *ibid.* 135—

"*Ant*, When did friendship take
A breed of barren metal of his friend "

18 as, that.

20 banks, Towards the end of this Essay Bacon again suggests that banks were regarded with suspicion. He means, I suppose, that people were unwilling to trust their money to bankers.

discovery of men's estates, &c requiring men to report the amount and source of their income. If this were done the amount of money lent at interest in the kingdom and the rate of interest would be known. Bacon can see that loans are advantageous to trade, yet in treating of usury he has principally in mind those who borrow to spend unproductively. In his *History of Henry VII* he says, "There were also made good and politic laws by that Parliament against usury, which is the bastard use of money, and against unlawful chances and exchanges, which is bastard usury." He quotes also from an address of the king to Parliament "His Grace prays you to repress the bastard and barren employment of money to usury and unlawful exchanges, that they may be, as their natural use is, turned upon common and lawful and royal trading." For *discovery*, see note on Essay vi 13.

22 Incommodities, inconveniences. In Essay *xxiii* 83, he uses the form *discommodities*.

23 weighed out, considered or separated

24 make forth to, proceed to

26. First, etc. The first third, and sixth of these arguments are answered by the first argument in the following paragraph. The answer to the second is that competition reduces the rate of interest for all whose credit is good. With regard to the fourth argument we may remark, firstly, that large capitalists are a necessity when trade is on a large scale, and, secondly, that "the

usurer' is not necessarily "at certainties" There is speculation in money lending as in trade The fifth argument assumes that what is borrowed is spent unproductively Of course so far as this is so, wealth is diminished It must always be remembered that when trade was undeveloped, the people ignorant, communications imperfect, and competition limited, there would be a stronger case than at present for legislation with regard to usury The law sometimes protects the Indian ryot by 'going behind the bond'

29 *vena porta*, See note on Essay xiv 138

31 husband, cf Essay xi 131

if he sit, if he is settled on his farm

34 customs, including all revenues raised by taxes upon commodities

kings or states, cf Essay ix 150

39 and ever, etc, cf Essay xv 160

42 purchasing, The Latin translation has "purchasing landed estates"

45 slug, hindrance Cf "They are but *remoraces* and hindrances to stay and *slug* the ship from further sailing" *Adv*, bk ii 7 7

46 estates, cf *a state*, Essay xxviii 32

52 so as, so that Cf i 70

54 stand, stoppage

57 far under foot, for less than they are worth

61 take pawns without use, lend on mortgage without interest

62 look precisely, etc, will foreclose

63 would say, was in the habit of saying

70 Utopia, the ideal state described by Sir Thomas More

71 reiglement, regulation

75 grinded, for *ground* blunted

78 Quickening, giving life to The word *quick* means properly *living* The English prayer book preserves the sense in the expression "the *quick* and the dead" Spenser employs it as a substantive in the sense of 'a living thing' 'The quick,' for the living or sensible parts of an animal body, is still in use, as in "cutting to the *quick*", and in the metaphorical application to the feelings of the mind, as being "touched to the *quick*" by a reproach Nares, *Glossary* s v

81 will be to seek for, will find it difficult to get

91 shut itself out to take, undertake not to exact *to take*, for *from taking*

94 land, i.e. the annual return from money invested in land will exceed that from money lent at interest by one per cent

97 edge, stimulate.

98 venture in that kind, invest their money in "industrious and profitable employments"
kind, cf Essay vi 47

101 to known merchants, The Latin translation adds, "and to no one else."

105 shall, for will See note on Essay ii 7

106 he Notice the singular after 'borrowers'
bank, See note on I 20

108 mislike, dislike

109 in regard of, cf Essay xviii 43.

let the state, etc., i.e. the money-lenders are to pay a small fee to the state for their license

110 Answered, guaranteed The lenders are to be 'responsible' for this amount to the state.

111 the abatement, viz., the fee paid to the state

116 restrained, confined Cf Essay xxvii 151

118 colour other men's monies, lend other peoples' money in their own name If those who are licensed to lend at 10 per cent could borrow with a view to lending again, all money would be lent at the higher rate This cannot happen, so long as 10 per cent is allowed only in "certain towns of merchandizing," because people living in the country will not lend to strangers in a distant town To colour is to make a thing seem what it is not

122 in a sort, in a manner Cf 'in no sort,' Essay xxxi 89 With regard to Bacon's proposal the student will notice, firstly, that it is directed to the relief of a particular class, and, secondly, that it amounts to a tax upon trade, the result of which would be to increase the price of living

124 by declaration, by public recognition of it.

ESSAY XLII OF YOUTH AND AGE

10 Septimius Severus, See note on Essay xxvii 90

14 reposed, calm

15 Cosmus, See note on Essay iv 26

Gaston de Foix, born 1469 He was a nephew of Louis

VII He distinguished himself as a commander of the French troops in Italy, and was killed at the battle of Ravenna in 1512

16 in age, i.e. in old time Cf l 39, 'men in age'

17 composition, to separate it Cf Essay vi 107

18 to invent than to judge Cf Essay xxiv 70

19 settled, The Latin translation has *ordinaire*

21 there, viz. the old

abuse instead Cf Essay xxi 127

21 manage management

23 embrace, i.e. undertake more than they can carry through stir more, etc., they act inconsiderately and so provoke tumults and disorders which they cannot suppress Reason means that caution and experience are the virtues of age Its faults (l 32) are incoherence and want of go

28 absurdly, to be taken with 'pursue' For *absurdly*, Cf Essay vi 64

care not to, do not hesitate to

31 unready, badly trained

31 the full period, Cf Essay xvi 11

35 to compound hit *to mix* to employ old and young together

38 for succession for the future

40 externo, external

44 your young men, etc Cf *Idem* bk i 33, "And will you hearken to the Hebrew Rabbins? Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams," say they, youth is the worthier age, for that visions are nearer apparitions of God than dreams" The word *Rabbi* means properly 'a master'

50 affections, See note on Essay ix 1

there be some have, there are some who have Cf Essay

i 2

have an over early ripeness, exactly equivalent to 'are precocious' (Latin *prae*, before, and *coquere*, to ripen)

53 Hermogenes lived in the reign of Marcus Aurelius

55 which have better grace, are more becoming

57 Tully, Cicero

58 Hortensius, an orator contemporary with Cicero

61 tract of years, length of years What Livy really says of Scipio Africanus is, that in his old age circumstances were not favourable for the display of his natural qualities

ESSAY ALPH OF BEAUTY

1 virtue, etc. Cf Essay li 1 To parody a well known line, "Virtue unadorned is adorned the most"

4 almost, generally

7 they, viz. very beautiful persons.

of great spirit, high minded Cf l 12, 'great spirits'
f 'good spirits,' Essay ii 34, and 'if they be of spirit,' Essay
liv 34

9 Vespasianus, Emperor from 69 to 79 A D

10 Philip, 1285 A D

11 Alcibiades lived in the fifth century B.C.

Ismael ascended the throne in 1499

13 favour, beautiful features Cf Essay xxvii 185, and
cxcix 5

14 motion, the Latin translation adds "both of countenance
and body" i.e. graceful expression and graceful features

18 Apelles, not Apelles but Zeuxis, a Greek painter born about
the middle of the fifth century B.C. When painting a picture for
the temple of Juno Lacinia at Croton, he selected five of the
most beautiful virgins of the country, that his painting might
present the best features of each

19 Durer, a German painter, 1471-1528 A.D. The allusion is
to his treatise "On the proportion of the parts of the human
body" (W)

more, greater Cf

"To beg of thee,

It is my *more* dishonour than thou of them" Sh. Coriol iii 2
would make, wished to make

24 was, cf Essay iii 95

25 felicity, cf xl 12

26 shall see, see note on Essay ii 7
that, of such a kind that

27 a good, i.e. a good part

28 all together, all the parts together
do well, are pleasant to look upon

30 amiable, lovable.

32 can be comely, The Latin translation has "can preserve
comeliness always"

but by pardon, unless we make allowances for his youth,
and reckon it to make the comeliness complete

34 are easy to corrupt, easily rot

36 out of countenance, The Latin translation has "repenting too late" lit "ashamed of" the excesses of youth Cf Essay vii 41

37 if it light well, if beauty alight upon a worthy person

maketh the vices blush, men are ashamed of their vices in the presence of those who are beautiful and virtuous

ESSAY XLIV OF DEFORMITY

Of Deformity, Chamberlain in a letter to Sir Dudley Carlton, written Dec 17, 1612, soon after the publication of the second edition of the *Essays*, says, "Sir Francis Bacon hath set out new Essays where, in a chapter of *Deformity*, the world takes notice that he paints out his little cousin (the Earl of Salisbury) to the life" (W) In the *Adv*, bk ii 22. 5, Bacon mentions "those impressions of nature which are imposed upon the mind by beauty and deformity" Cf Essay ix 41

2 so do they by nature, they disgrace nature by their want of the ordinary feelings of humanity

6 she ventureth in the other, there is always a risk that mental defects may accompany bodily deformity

9 the stars of natural inclination, It was thought that the conjunction of planets under which a person was born determined his character Cf "This is that which will indeed dignify and exalt knowledge, if contemplation and action may be more nearly and straitly conjoined and united together than they have been, a conjunction like unto that of the two highest planets, Saturn, the planet of rest and contemplation, and Jupiter, the planet of civil society and action" *Adv*, bk i 5 11

12 deceivable, deceptive, because, as he has just explained, a deformed person may alter his nature by discipline and virtue

14 induce, used in its literal sense of 'to bring upon' Cf *reduce*, Essay xi 54

15 rescuing, cf "In this righting and helping of a man's self in his own carriage, he must take heed to show not himself dimantled and exposed to scorn and injury, by too much dulceness, goodness, and facility of nature, but show some sparkles of liberty, spirit, and edge Which kind of fortified carriage, with a ready rescuing (rescuing) of a man's self from scorns, is sometimes of necessity imposed upon men by somewhat in their person or fortune, but it ever succeedeth with good felicity" *Adv*, bk ii 23 32

16 extreme, cf Essay i. 18' With the whole of this passage of Essay ix 48

26 upon the matter, taking everything into consideration. wit, mind Cf Essay i 6

30 obnoxious, dependent Cf Essay x 105
official, used in its literal sense of 'ready to serve'

31 spials, spies

32 much like, etc., i.e. and the same holds true in the case of deformed persons

33 the ground is, The Latin translation has "the rule which we have laid down holds good" Cf Essay xii 27

34 if they be of spirit, cf Essay xliii 7

37 Agesilaus, see note on Essay ix 48

Zanger, son of Solyman the Magnificent See note on Essay xix 83

38 Gasca lived in the sixteenth century He put down the rebellion of Pizarro in Peru in 1547 A.D.

Esop lived in the sixth century B.C. He was a slave

Socrates, cf *Adv*, bk. i 3 8 "I refer them also to that which Plato said of his master Socrates, whom he compared to the gallipots of apothecaries, which on the outside had apes and owls and antiques, but contained within sovereign and precious liquors and confections acknowledging that to an external report he was not without superficial levities and deformities, but was inwardly replenished with excellent virtues and powers" The ugliness of Socrates was proverbial

ESSAY XLV OF BUILDING

Of Building, see Green's *History of the English People*, vol. ii p. 390 In his *Praise of Queen Elizabeth*, Bacon says, "The opulency of the peace such, as if you have respect, to take one sign for many, to the number of fair houses that have been built during her reign, as Augustus said, 'that he had received the city of brick, and left it of marble' so she may say, she received it a realm of cottages, and hath made it a realm of palaces" In his *Observations on a Label* he says "There was never the like number of fair and stately houses as have been built and set up from the ground, since her majesty's reign inasmuch that there have been reckoned in one shire that is not great, to the number of thirty-three, which have been all new-built within that time—whereof the meanest was never built for two thousand pounds"

- 5 fair, beautiful Cf II 42 and 59
 seat, site
- 9 knap, knoll It is the same word as *knob* It is connected with a verb meaning *to strike*, and so means properly 'a lump raised by a blow'
- 11 so as, so that
- 12 several, cf Essay XIX 152, and below, II 23, 44, and 49
- 14 ill ways, bad roads
- 15 Momus, the god of fault finding In *Aesop's Fable*, 275, he finds fault with a house built by Athens, because it was not built upon wheels so as to be removed, if necessary, from bad neighbours
- 20 having, The Latin translation has "not having," which is required by the sense
- 21 discommodity, cf Essay XXXIII 83
- 23 lurcheth, swallows up
- 24 where a man hath, etc The Latin translation is as follows, "A site where a man possesses or can acquire large estates, and, on the other hand, a site where he cannot stretch his wings I do not mention all these points as thinking that any house can be free from all these inconveniences, but in order that we may avoid as many of them as possible"
- 25 all which them, cf Essay XXXI 37
- 28 sort, arrange
- 31 lightsome, light
- 34 fowl, birds
- 41 the Vatican, the Papal residence in Rome
 the Escorial, in Madrid
- 44 The banquet, The dining hall Cf below, II 52 and 80
- 45 the book of Hester, one of the books of the Jewish Scriptures Hester was the wife of King Ahasuerus
- 46 triumphs, shows Cf Essay XXXII
- 48 returns, sides built back from the front and forming a court
- 49 severally, differently
- 53 and under it, etc The Latin translation has "and under it another room of the same length and breadth to hold every thing that is required for displays, games, etc, and to serve as a dressing room for the actors"
- 56 at the first, The Latin translation has "especially"

59 under these rooms, The Latin translation adds, ' with the exception of the chapel."

64 a goodly leads, a leaded roof

statuas, cf Essay xxvii 156

interposed, at intervals

66 The stairs, etc The Latin translation has "a winding staircase, in flights of six steps each" The word newel is explained as "a pillar of stone or wood, where the steps terminate in a winding staircase" (W)

69 point, appoint

71 shall, for will Cf Essay ii 7, and below, l 95

74 sixteen, The Latin translation has "twenty"

78. cast into, literally 'contrived within' The staircases are to be in the turrets, and the turrets are to stand "outside the row of buildings" Cf *Adi*, bk. ii 18 9, "In buildings there is great pleasure and use in the well casting of the stair cases"

83 some side alleys, etc The court is to be turfed But there is to be a paved walk round it, and another crossing the turf from end to end and side to side

84 alleys, walks Cf Essay xlvii 74 It is the French *aller*, to go

to graze, to be turfed

85 The row of return, the whole side of the court near, we should say *close*

88 of several works, The Latin translation has "on which are painted columns, figures of all kinds, flowers, and the like."

89 On the household side, The Latin translation adds "and also the third side which faces the front."

chambers of presence, reception rooms

91 thorough, cf Essay v 19

92 from, away from, not exposed to

"For't must be done to night,
And something from the palace"
Shakespeare, *Macbeth* i. 1 132

93 Cast it, arrange the building so that, etc.

94 rooms The Latin translation has "both sitting rooms and bedrooms"

95 You shall have, &c you will find

96 to become, to betake oneself Cf Shakespeare's 3 *Henry VI* ii 1 10,

"I cannot joy, until I be resolved
Where our right valiant father is *become* "

97 For, as regards

embowed windows, bow windows

98 in respect of, cf Essay xxvii 88

103 on the sides only, i.e. two on each side

104 inward, we should say *inner*

106 cloistered, etc Bacon has already explained that each side is to be "a double house" In this inner court, the inner half of all four sides on the ground floor is to consist of cloisters The outer half, facing the garden (or, according to the Latin version, the outer half of the sides only, and not of the two ends) is to be a grotto or summer house, (*estivation*, from Lat *aestas*, summer)

113 to be paved, etc, i.e. with turf in the middle, and a paved walk round and across it

116 foresee, This is the literal meaning of the word 'provide' Cf Essay xv 133

118 ante-camera, antechamber, recamera, a room behind

119 Upon the ground story, that is, as is explained in the Latin translation, at the end of the inner court He has not as yet said anything about this See above, note on *cloistered*

120 upon the third story, The Latin translation adds "on all three sides"

123 the further side, i.e. the end The Latin translation adds "on the second floor"

by way of return, i.e. jutting out into the garden See above, note on *returns*

129 avoidances, outlets for the water The Latin translation adds "that the inner half of the upper story, which faces the court, should consist of colonnades and sheltered walks for the use of invalids"

thus much, etc The Latin translation adds "I say nothing of baths and fish ponds"

131 with a wall about it, The Latin translation adds "and trees planted along the wall"

132 of the same, The Latin translation has "of the same size."

134 not to be built, not to be enclosed by buildings of any sort

136 tarrasses, terraces. The Latin translation has "with walks built not upon arches but upon pillars, and covered at the top with lead or paved with stone, and decorated at the sides with elegant little statues of the colour of brass "

139 low, The Latin translation adds "and covered "

ESSAY XLVI OF GARDENS

Gardens, Amongst Bacon's private memoranda are some "directions for a plot to turn the pond yard (in his dwelling at Gorhambury) into a place of pleasure by enclosing and laying it out in broad walks and terraces, with banks and bowers set with choice trees and flowers, and a lake in the middle with several islands in it, variously furnished and adorned for rest, exercise, and refreshment, and pleasure of eye, ear, smell, taste, and spirits " See Spedding's *Francis Bacon and His Times*, vol. 1. p 539

1 a Garden, referring to the garden of Eden in which Adam and Eve were placed

4 handyworks, The Latin translation has "are works of the hand only, not savouring of nature."

5 civility, civilization
stately, cf Essay 1 18

7 hold it, think.

15 stoved, kept warm
warm set, The Latin translation has "planted along a wall and towards the sun "

51 that delight, the pleasure derived from the scent of flowers

52 perfume the air, The Latin translation has "before they are plucked."

53 fast, tenacious

60 Bartholomew-tide, St. Bartholomew's day is Aug 24th

69 so, provided that

74 alleys, see note on Essay xlv 84

76 For, as regards Cf ll 119, 135, 163, 184, 193, 210

83. to either side, i. e. to the alleys or walks on either side

86 it will give you etc. The Latin translation has "a walk is to be cleared across it by which you may approach a hedge "

87 go in front upon, advance towards

91 of, for on

92 covert, sheltered Cf 1 113

94 knots, beds

96 they be, cf Essay i 2
toys, cf Essay xix 12

102 entire, continuous.

109 slope, sloping

111 to leave, this depends on "understand" It is equivalent to "that there should be left" For the change, cf Essay xxiv 37

113 deliver, lead

115 for letting, because it would intercept

121 busy, elaborate The word *busy* means properly *active*, as in Essay xliii 6 Then it is used in a bad sense to denote *over activity*, or *interference*, as in Essay xxxvi 68 Here it means not 'the person who labours'—but 'the thing on which the labour is bestowed'

124 welts, edges

127 fair, cf Essay xlv 5, and below, ll 156, 194, 200
closer, The Latin translation has "narrower and more-sheltered" Cf l 189

129 with three ascents, there are to be three flights of steps, and at the top of each flight a space is to be levelled all round the hill, broad enough for four to walk abreast

131 embossments, projections in architecture

133 chimneys, fire places
cast, cf Essay xlv 93

136 pools, The Latin translation adds "and fish ponds"

139 receipt, receptacle

142 as, that

149 curiosity, ingenuity Cf Essay ix 17

153 rails of low statues, cf "railed with statues interposed," Essay xlv 64

158 equality of bores, The Latin translation has "tubes of equal dimensions" *Bore* is the Latin *forare* in *per-forare*.

161 nothing to, i.e. contributing nothing to Cf l 220

165 trees I would have none, etc The Latin translation has 'except that here and there I direct rows of trees to be planted with walks on the tops, covered by branches of trees and having windows Underneath the ground should be plentifully planted with sweet smelling flowers breathing their fragrance upwards With this exception I wish the walk to be without trees'

168 and these to be, etc The Latin translation has "I wish the thickets and the walks over the trees to be, etc"

- 178 pricked, cf Essay xiii 72
- 180 but here and there, but only occasionally, because the scent is oppressive
- 183 out of course, irregularly The Latin translation has "unsightly"
- 190 because of going wet, that you may not have to walk in the wet
- 192 would be, ought to be
- 196 deceive the trees, i.e. defraud the trees of nourishment
- 197 leaving the wall, i.e. so that, when you stand upon the mount, the wall of the enclosure shall not be higher than your breast
- 203 so as, so that
- 205 rest upon, depend upon Cf Essay xiv 79
- 210 that largeness as, such a size that
- 213 on the floor, After this sentence the Latin translation has "As for making walks upon hills and pretty ascents, these things are gifts of nature and cannot be made everywhere I have mentioned those things only which can be had in any place"
- 214 platform, model Cf "The main and primitive division of moral knowledge seemeth to be into the exemplar or *platform* of good, and the regiment or culture of the mind" *Adv*, bk ii 20 3
- 215 by drawing, etc., in outline only
- 218 set their things together, The Latin translation adds "with but little taste"

ESSAY XLVII OF NEGOCIATING

- 2 a man's self, see note on Essay vi 57
- 5 it may be danger, etc., i.e. there may be danger of being interrupted
- 8 tender, delicate Cf Essay vi 229
- a man's eye, etc., cf Essay xvii 10
- 11 to disavow, The Latin translation has "to unsay" Bacon means that a personal interview affords such opportunities for explanation that there can be no misunderstanding as to the speaker's wishes or opinions
- 14 the success, the result
- 16 will help, etc., i.e. will give a too favourable report, so as to please their employer Cf "reporting the success barely," Essay xlix 29
- 17 satisfaction sake, Abbott (*Sh Gr* § 22) says that the

reason for this license is to be found in an increasing dislike and disuse of the inflection in 's

affect, are well disposed to

18 quickeneth much, The Latin translation has "stimulate them to industry"

21 absurd, see note on Essay vi 68

22 doth not well, etc The Latin translation has "which is at all discreditable"

25 prescription, title their reputation for constant good luck Never having failed, they look on success as a right

It is better, etc, cf Essay xxii 102

28 in appetite, who want something He who has all that he wants has nothing to gain by helping others

30 the start, etc The question is, how I am to persuade a man to do something for me before I do what I have promised to do for him He may naturally think that when I have got what I want, I shall decline to perform my part of the bargain Bacon says that I may persuade him by convincing him that I shall want his services again, so that I shall certainly keep faith with him now Or, if I have a high reputation for integrity, he will trust me

32 which, for *that it*

34 that, redundant

35 practice, negotiation

to work, i.e. to accomplish something To "work a man" means to "influence" him

36 discover themselves, cf Essays v 38, vi 43, xli 20

at unawares, this *at* is redundant

39 fashions, habits

41 have interest in him, have influence over him With this passage cf *Adv*, bk ii 23 18 20 The substance of the passage is that a man must thoroughly understand those with whom he has to deal He must be distrustful, believing rather in looks than in words, and in words wrung from a man by strong feeling, than in prepared speeches Most men reveal secrets at some time but a man's actions may be contrived to mislead We may gain different kinds of information about men from their friends, their enemies, and their servants We may judge them by their characters, or their aims, but we must be on our guard against crediting men with too much depth and wisdom We must judge of princes by their character only, for they have all objects of desire at their command

47 ripen, cf Essay xx 37 and 133 _

ESSAY XLVIII OF FOLLOWERS AND FRIENDS

1 followers, In his *Observations on a Libel*, Bacon says, "Concerning the nobility, it is true that there have been in ages past noblemen, as I take it, both of greater possessions and of greater command and sway than any one at this day One reason why the possessions are less, I conceive to be, because certain sumptuous veins and humours of expence, as apparel, gaming, *maintaining of a kind of followers*, and the like, do reign more than they did in times past"

2 his train, A number of dependents hamper a man, as the peacock's tail impedes his flight

3 charge, cf *Essay* xxix 255

4 importune, cf *Essay* ix 159

5 to challenge, to claim Cf "The errors I claim and challenge to myself as mine own" *Adv*, bk ii 25 5 Ordinary followers ought not to expect from their patron more than his good will, his recommendation when they require it, and protection

8 upon, by reason of We should say out of Cf *Essay* ii 32

10 that ill intelligence, those misunderstandings

11 glorious, boasting Cf *Essay* xxxiv 105 Braggarts, who go about singing their master's praises, are to be avoided They ruin projects by divulging anything and everything and they diminish their master's reputation, and make him unpopular

17 espials, spies

19 officious, See note on *Essay* xlv 30

20 exchange tales, i e. if they carry their master's secrets to others, they reveal the secrets of others to their masters

estates, rank or order Cf 'state,' *Essay* xiv 118 It has always been thought "civil" that a man should have dependents of his own profession

22 to him, i e. that soldiers should follow a soldier

23 civil, literally "befitting a citizen" The Latin translation has "seemly" Bacon means that it is not inconsistent with the subordinate position that befits a citizen, and therefore even monarchs, who are most jealous of a rival power, have not objected to it.

24 so, provided that

25 popularity, cf *Essay* xv 243

26 apprehendeth to, knows how to

27 where there is, where no one man is distinctly and conspi

enously superior to another, it is better to employ the more commonplace man

28 sufficiency, ability Cf Essay xi 101

33 discontent, cf Essay xv 167

34 they may claim a due, men of equal rank may claim equal treatment as a right.

in favour, i.e. in things which are matters of indulgence
It is opposed to "in government."

35 election, choice discrimination

37 officious, See note above, l 19

of favour, and therefore cannot as "in government" be claimed as a right

39 hold out, continue to the end

41 disreputation, disrepute

those them their, notice the plural The sentence begins with the singular "a man" Cf Essay xli 105

44 to be distracted, etc, cf Essay xviii 211

45 of the last impression, Cf *Adv*, bk ii 22 4 He means a man who takes the opinion simply of the person to whom he happens to have spoken last

47 lookers on, etc Cf *Adv*, bk ii 21 7 and Essay xviii 185 For discover, cf Essay v 38

50 magnified, The Latin translation adds "amongst the ancients"

51 comprehend, used in its literal sense of 'to include' If the superior is prosperous, the inferior is so too

ESSAY XLIX OF SUITORS

1 ill, for bad, as in Essay xlv 5

are undertaken, viz. by men who promise to exert their influence to get a petition granted When influence is exerted to gain for individuals what they do not deserve, or what cannot be given to them without doing an injustice to others, the public interest suffers Cf the end of the Essay In Bacon's time, as has often been the case in India, one who had not interest at court found it difficult to get a hearing Men pretended to influence who had it not, and those who had it often deceived those who entrusted their petitions to them

5 embrace suits, i.e. undertake to get a petition granted

6 if they see, etc The Latin translation has "if they see that the thing is likely to be carried through by the exertions of some one else." If they see that the petitioner will get by means of another what they did not intend to help him to get, they will try to persuade him that he is really indebted to them, either wholly or in part At the least, until the suit is decided, they will get something out of him, by persuading him that they can further his suit Notice the singular '*a thank*' for '*thanks*'

9 Some take hold, etc For instance, if A, whom I dislike, has applied for a vacant situation, I may support the application of B, simply to keep A out

10 or to make, etc For instance, in urging the claims of B as against those of A to an appointment, I may take occasion to inform the government of some fault of which A has been guilty

12 when that turn, etc, when they have gained their own immediate object

13 kind of entertainment, etc, an introduction The Latin translation has "to make other men's business a bridge to their own"

14 Nay some, etc If I want to keep A from getting anything, my best plan is to promise to help him to get it, and then do nothing in the matter. Depending upon me, he will make no efforts on his own account

15 let fall, as we say 'to drop'

16 in some sort, cf Essay vi 122, and Essay xxxv 89

17 either a right, etc In a dispute about property, one man must be in the right and the other in the wrong If the arbitrator is prejudiced in favour of him who is in the wrong, let him not give an absolute verdict in his favour but let him use his influence to induce the two parties to come to an agreement between themselves *Compound*, used like the Latin *componere* in the sense of '*to settle a quarrel*' Cf "That which troubled them most was the concert that they dealt with a rout of people, with whom there was no *composition*, or condition, or orderly treaty" *Hist Henry VII* We talk of a man *compounding*, i e making an arrangement, with his creditors

21 If affection, etc Of two candidates for a place, one will be better qualified than the other If I give it to the inferior man, I need not take away the other man's character to justify my action

22 depraving or disabling, The Latin translation has "bringing false accusations against him, and speaking maliciously of him" For *disable* in the sense of disparage, cf a letter to Sir Edward Coke, in which Bacon says, "You take to yourself a liberty to *disable* my law, my experience, my discretion"

27 referendaries, those to whom he refers the matter and on whose advice he acts

led by the nose, deceived

28 distasted, disgusted Cf *distastes*, Essay v 30

29 denying, refusing

reporting the success barely, giving a true and unvarnished report of the success of their efforts, and not "helping the matter in report for satisfaction sake" Essay xlii. 16

30 challenging, cf Essay xliii 5

31 gracious, something to be thankful for a favour Men have been so disgusted by the delays and the tricks (abuses) of those who have undertaken to help them, that they are actually grateful to those who have the simple honesty to say at once that they will not help them, when they do not intend to help them—to say exactly what they have succeeded in doing, and not to feed them with false hopes—and to ask to be paid only for what they have actually done

32 of favour, as distinguished from what is claimed as a right to take little place, to be of little weight The first applicant ought not necessarily to succeed

33 his trust, i.e. the trust of the first comer If a petitioner, whose suit is refused, gives us some information which we could not otherwise have obtained, we are not to take advantage of the information (note), but rather reward him, and leave him free to get what he wants by any other means that are open to him For discovery, cf Essay vi 43

37 of a suit, of what is asked for This refers to 'a suit of favour' A man who gives an important office to an unfit person cannot afterwards excuse himself by saying that he did not know the importance of the office

38 of the right thereof, The Latin translation has, 'To pass negligently over the justice of it' When a thing is sought as a right by A, and we give it to B, without allowing A to urge his own claims in full, it shows that we know that we are doing wrong, or that we do not care to do right

39 mean, cf Essay xix 53

40 voicing them to be in forwardness, Literally, proclaiming that they are going on well feeding the petitioners with hopes

41 quicken, stimulate Cf Essay xlvii 18

42 timing of the suit, Make your request at a time when the person to whom it is made is in a good humour, and when you are safe from those who are likely to oppose it

45 his mean, the person who is chosen to present his petition

Cf "In most things men are ready to abuse themselves in thinking the greatest means to be the best, when it should be the fittest" *Adi*, bk ii 23 38

46 them that deal, etc. The Latin translation has "those who meddle with few affairs rather than those who undertake anything"

47 The reparation, etc. A man who takes a refusal good humouredly will be perfectly contented if he gets what he wants the next time he asks for it

52. hath strength of favour, is a favourite of the person to whom he addresses the petition. Any man would reject at once an extravagant demand, if made by a comparative stranger

rise in his suit, The Latin translation has "to rise gradually to that which he wants, and at least to get something" for were better, cf *Essay* cxvi 44

53 for he, etc. When a man first comes to us as a petitioner, we may either listen to him or dismiss him. But if we dismiss him, after having actually conferred favours upon him, we lose his goodwill and support, and our former acts of kindness to him are thrown away. Being discontented, he will make us no return for them

56 letter, a testimonial

58 worse instruments, The Latin translation has "a more pernicious class of men"

ESSAY L OF STUDIES

1 Studies, etc. The Latin translation has "Studies and the reading of books serve for pleasure in reflection, for ornament in speech, and for assistance in business."

2 privateness and retiring, seclusion and retirement.

4. expert men, men of experience. See note on *Essay* xii 24, and cf. *Adi*, bk i 2. 3. Cf "Hence it proceedeth that princes find a solitude in regard of able men to serve them in causes of estate, because there is no education collegiate which is free where such as were so disposed might give themselves to histories, modern languages, books of policy and civil discourse, and other the like enablements unto service of estate." *Adi*, bk ii, *Introd* § 8

6' plots, plans.

9 is affectation, The Latin translation adds "and betrays itself."

10 is the humour, etc The Latin translation has "and does not succeed"

12 proynng, pruning

13 too much at large, too vague

14 bounded in, limited corrected English people have a special horror of 'doctrinaire' politicians

Crafty men, etc, they think that cunning and ingenuity will supply the place of experience

17 without, outside Cf Essay xl 36

23 curiously, carefully The Latin translation has "much time is not to be spent upon them"

26 would be, ought to be

28 flashy, The Latin translation has "tasteless" In the *Adv*, bk ii 17 11, Bacon talks of "the canker of epitomes"

29 conference, conversation and discussion

writing, etc The Latin translation has "Writing and a collection of notes impresses and fixes what we have read deeper in the mind" Cf "I am not ignorant of the prejudice imputed to the use of common place books, as causing a retardation of reading, and some sloth or relaxation of memory But because it is but a counterfeit thing in knowledges to be forward and pregnant, except a man be deep and full, I hold the entry of common places to be a matter of great use and essence in studying, as that which assureth copie of invention, and con tracteth judgement to a strength" *Adv*, bk ii 15 1

31 present, ready

32 cunning, Cf Essay xxvi 13, and Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, i 1 88

33 that, for what

34 witty, ingenious Bacon certainly showed ingenuity in his interpretation of "poesy parabolical" See *Adv*, bk ii 4 4, and his treatise on *The Wisdom of the Ancients* Poetry in his view was but an exercise of the imagination

37 stond, Cf Essay xl 14 Cf "Many parts of nature cannot be invented with sufficient subtlety, nor demonstrated with sufficient perspicuity, nor accommodated unto use with sufficient dexterity, without the aid and intervening of the mathematics Men do not sufficiently understand the excellent use of the pure mathematics, in that they do remedy and cure many defects in the wit and faculties intellectual For if the wit be too dull, they sharpen it, if too wandering, they fix it if too inherent in the sense, they abstract it" *Adv*, bk ii 8 2 Cf also bk ii 19 2

wit, mind Cf ll 42, 43, 44

38 studies, etc Cf "It is not without truth which is said, that studies have an influence and operation upon the manners of those that are conversant in them"—*Adv*, bk 1 3 4

39 Bowling, playing at bowls

40 shooting, the Latin translation has "archery "

42 wandering, cf "If a child be bird-witted, that is, hath not the faculty of attention, the mathematics giveth a remedy thereunto, for in them, if the wit be caught away but a moment, one is now to begin "

43 never so little, no matter how little

46 carvers, etc Cf "Antoninus Pius was a prince excellently learned, and had the patient and subtle wit of a schoolman, insomuch as in common speech (which leaves no virtue untaxed), he was called a carver or divider of common seed, which is one of the least seeds such a patience he had and settled spirit to enter into the least and most exact differences of causes" *Adv*, bk 1 7 7 For the tendency of the Schoolmen to "distinguish or find differences," see *Adv*, bk 1 4 6 For the Schoolmen see Essay viii 25

beat over matters, see note on Essay xiii 104 The Latin translation has "If his mind is not quick at passing from one matter to another" Cf "The mind of man is altogether slow, and so unfitted to pass to remote and different examples by which conclusions are tried, as it were, by fire"—*Nor Org* 1 47 The faculty of discovering resemblances and analogies and that of noting differences are often opposed by Bacon See *Nor Org* 1 55

48 the lawyers' cases, where all depends on finding precedents relative to the case in hand

ESSAY LI OF FACTION

2 estate, kingdom

3 according to the respect, etc, i.e. that a wise king's policy should be determined by the interests and wishes of powerful parties literally *with an eye to* See note on Essay vi 90

5 in ordering, etc, i.e. in arranging matters which concern all men equally

6 nevertheless, in spite of them belonging to different factions

in dealing, etc The Latin translation has "in coaxing, conciliating, and managing individuals"

with correspondence to, in a manner appropriate to each

9 Mean men, men in a humble position Cf Essay xv 93

10 were better, cf Essay xxvi 44

11 indifferent, impartial See note on Essay vi 64

Yet even, etc It is true that a man at the beginning of his career must be a member of one party but he will find the road to success more easy if, though belonging to one party, he have the reputation of being not distasteful to the opposite party Both parties may combine to promote such a man

12 he, viz the beginner

13 which, for *who* It refers not to 'faction,' but to 'man' most passable with, most acceptable to

giveth best way, The Latin translation has "prepares the road to power"

15 stiff, The Latin translation has "determined and persistent"

27 are seconds, hold a subordinate place

32 once placed, as soon as they have obtained the position which they wished

take in with, side with

33 belike, probably

34 for a new purchase, The Latin translation has "to make new friends"

35 lightly, easily

goeth away with it, carries off the prize

36 casteth, decides

37 The even carriage, neutrality

38 of, for *from*, cf 'to rise of,' Essay vi 78

39 trueness to a man's self, i.e. a regard to his own interests with end to make, with a view of making

40 suspect, suspicious See Essay xxiv 34

42 to refer, etc, cf Essay xxiii 10

48 the League, See note on Essay vi 50

51 The motions, etc See note on Essay xv 59

53 proper, their own See Essay iii 30

ESSAY LII OF CEREMONIES AND RESPECTS

Respects, good manners

1 real, sterling worth requires to be set off by attractive manners (good forms, l 12)

3 a foil, a set off Cf Essay xliii 1

8 are in note, are noticed

10 Isabella, Queen of Castile Born 1450, died 1494

11 letters commendatory, testimonials An attractive manner is in itself a recommendation.

14 If he labour, etc Cf "If behaviour and outward carriage be intended too much, first it may pass into affectation, and then *What is more unseemly than to carry the stage into real life, to act a man's life?* But although it proceed not to that extreme, yet it consumeth time, and employeth the mind too much And therefore, as we use to advise young students from company-keeping, by saying, *Friends are thieves of time*, so certainly the intending of the discretion of behaviour is a great thief of meditation Again, such as are accomplished in that form of urbanity please themselves in it, and seldom aspire to higher virtue, whereas those that have defect in it do seek comeliness by reputation, for where reputation is, almost everything becometh, but where that is not, it must be supplied by puntos and compliments" *Adv*, bk ii 23 3

18 that breaketh, etc, who trains or accustoms himself to the observance of minute rules who is over punctilious

21 they be, cf Essay i 2

22. formal, punctilious

24 the faith, viz which others have in him An exaggerated politeness is suspected to be insincere

25 imprinting, impressive.

29 to keep state, to be dignified

33 so, etc, provided that we let them see that we do it from admiration of them, and not out of mere good nature.

To apply one's self, to accommodate oneself to humour

38 allow, approve See note on Essay xviii 5

40 be they never, etc, no matter how able (sufficient) they may be Cf Essay xxxvi 19

41 that attribute, viz. of paying studied and therefore insincere compliments.

43 respects, rules of behaviour Cf the title of the Essay

In the passage of the *Adv* referred to above, Bacon says that good manners express self-respect and respect for others

curious, etc., a man must not be so punctilious as to let favourable opportunities pass Cf "There is no greater impediment of action than an over curious observance of decency, and the guide of decency, which is time and season For as Salomon saith, *He who looketh to the winds doth not sow, and he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap*, a man must make his opportunity as oft as find it To conclude, behaviour seemeth to me as a garment of the mind, and to have the conditions of a garment For it ought to be made in fashion, it ought not to be too curious, it ought to be shaped so as to set forth any good making of the mind and hide any deformity, and above all it ought not to be too strait or restrained for exercise or motion" *Adv*, bk ii 23 3

48 point device, studied Shakespeare uses the word, but the origin of it is uncertain

ESSAY LIII OF PRAISE

1 it is as, it resembles

3 naught, worthless Cf Essay xxxiv 65

6 work, cf Essay xxvii 119

8 shows, cf 'a show of godliness,' Essay xxvi 5 The Latin phrase is taken from Tacitus' description of the character of Caius Piso, *Ann* xv 48

9 fame, etc The same interpretation is applied to time, *Adv*, bk i 5 3

11 of quality and judgment, so in the passage of the *Adv* quoted on Essay liv 42, he couples 'men of wisdom and rank' as those whose opinion is really valuable

12 concur, *sc* in praising a man

14 away, used as a verb 'will not depart' For the metaphor, cf "That will not alter Solomon's judgement, *The memory of the just is blessed, but the name of the wicked shall rot* the one flourisheth, the other either consumeth to present oblivion, or turneth to an ill odour" *Adv*, bk ii 2 9

16 There be so many, Praise is so often bestowed where it is not deserved that it is naturally regarded with suspicion For a suspect, cf Essay xxiv 34

17 of, for 'from'

18 he will have, etc, he will have a number of complimentary expressions ready, which may be applied indiscriminately to all

whom he wishes to flatter *He*, viz. the person who praises
Cf 'he' in l 18, and 'they' in l 30

20 the arch flatterer, cf Essay xxvii 169

24 'out of countenance, ashamed Cf Essay xlii 36

25 entitle him to perforce, insist on giving him the credit of

27 respects, we should use the singular.

33 the worst kind, etc., quoted from Tacitus' account of Agricola, the Roman governor of Britain under Vespasian and Domitian, born A D 40

34 it was a proverb, Theocritus, *Idyll*, ix 24, says, "I shall not raise a blister on your nose, by calling you beautiful" Theocritus was a pastoral poet, born at Syracuse in the third century B C.

35 should, see note on Essay xxvii 7

a push, a pimple

36 one's tongue, we should say 'the tongue of one who'

37 used with opportunity, cf "It is flattery to praise in absence, that is, when either the virtue is absent, or the occasion is absent, and so the praise is not natural, but forced, either in truth or in time" *Adi*, bk ii 21 8

38 vulgar, such as might be applied to any one

39 he that praiseth, etc., cf Essay xlviii 12 The quotation is from *Proi* xxvii 14 "The probity of Aristoides procured for him some jealousy from persons who heard it proclaimed with offensive ostentation We are told that a rustic and unlettered citizen gave his ostracizing vote, and expressed his dislike against Aristoides, on the simple ground that he was tired of hearing him always called the *Just* The purity of the most honourable man will not bear to be so boastfully talked of as if he were the only honourable man in the country, and the story just alluded to illustrates that natural reaction of feeling produced by absurd encomiasts, or perhaps by insidious enemies under the mask of encomiasts, who trumpeted forth Aristoides as *The Just man of Attica*, so as to wound the legitimate dignity of every one else" Grote, *Gr Hist*, vol 4, p 266

41 irritate, provoke

43. To praise, as for praising Cf *Adv*, bk ii. 23 30

a man's, one's own See on Essay vi 57

45 which, for 'who'

theologues, theologians

46 notable, remarkable

47 civil, opposed to ecclesiastical By disparaging civil affairs they, by implication, exalt ecclesiastical

48 *embassage, embassy* In *Essay* xxix 63, he uses 'ambassage'

50 *catch poles, bruliffs* Cf *Essay* li 107.

though many times, etc The Latin translation has, "Yet, if it be rightly weighed, it is not amiss to vary speculation with business." Their contempt for affairs is not altogether justifiable

52 *he, redundant* Cf *Essay* viii 37 The references are to 2 Cor xi 23, and Rom xi 13

interlace, cf Essay xi 72

ESSAY LIV OF VAIN GLORY

1 *of, for 'by'*

3 *whatsoever goeth, whatsoever goes of itself, or is set in motion by persons more powerful* The words 'go' and 'move upon' are suggested by the metaphor of the chariot

4 *if they have, etc, no matter how little they have to do with it*

5 *carry it, the Latin translation has "turn the whole machine"* So possibly it may mean that the business 'moves on' them, as the chariot does on its wheels But probably Bacon meant by it 'are chiefly instrumental in bringing it about' So we say 'to carry the day,' 'to carry a thing through' Cf *Essay* li 15

6 *glorious, boastful* See on *Essay* xxxiv 103, and below, 1 57

bravery, boasting, which implies a depreciation of others

9 *not effectual, they cannot be effectual* Cf *xlvi* 14

10 *bruit, noise*

11 *civil, opposed to military* See 1 23

12 *fame of, reputation for* Cf 1 29 For trumpeters, see *Essay* *xlvi* 12

14 *the Ætolians, a tribe in Greece*

15 *of, resulting from*

cross lies, i.e. lies told to each of two parties about the other Antiochus III was king of Syria in the second century B.C.

20 *interest, influence* He exaggerates to each his influence with the other

22 *of, for 'out of'* For instance, the Ætolian Thoas, by his exaggerated representations of the strength of the Greeks induced Antiochus to assist them in a revolt against Rome and

on the other hand he encouraged the revolt of the Greeks by magnifying the power of Antiochus

23 substance, something substantial, an act as opposed to a mere thought

25 glory, boasting Each is anxious to surpass the boasted exploits of another

26 upon charge, etc The Latin translation has, "which are undertaken at the expense and risk of individuals"

27 composition, combination

put life into, cf Essay xli 78

29 the ballast, cf "Surely not a few solid natures, that want this ventosity (art of puffing themselves) and cannot sail in the height of the winds, are not without some prejudice and disadvantage by their moderation" *Adv*, bk ii 23 30 The quotation which follows is from Cicero, *Tusc Disp* i 15

33 Socrates, I have quoted on Essay xxxii 36 a passage in which Bacon attributes to Socrates a desire to get credit for knowledge which he did not possess In the *Adv*, bk ii 7 2, he says of Aristotle, that his delight was "to confound and extinguish all ancient wisdom inasmuch as he never nameth or mentioneth an ancient author or opinion, but to confute and reprove, wherein for glory, and drawing followers and disciples, he took the right course" Bacon probably wished to insinuate that Galen tried to attract admiration by the novelty of his theories

Galen, a writer on medicine in the second century A D

35 beholden, indebted

36 as, that

his, for 'its' See Essay xii 86

at the second hand, i.e. from human nature, not at first hand, i.e. through her own efforts The Latin translation has, "Virtue owes her reputation less to human nature than to herself"

37 had, would have Cicero, in his speeches, constantly reminds his hearers of his services to his country Bacon often attributes a certain presumptuousness to Seneca and the Stoics (cf Essay i 1), nor can we read his letters without feeling that he was very well satisfied with himself Pliny in one of his letters boasts of his independence as an advocate in opposing the most powerful men in the state, including even friends of the Emperor; and says that his success made men willing to listen to him, and opened for him a road to fame In another letter he records that the Emperor Nerva called him an honour to the age

in which he lived In another letter he records the pleasure which his wife took in reading his books

104 Plinius Secundus, Pliny the Younger, see note on Essay xi

18 borne her age, continued fresh

39 ceellings, ceilings The word means properly a covering, and was applied to flooring and wainscoting as well as to what we now call the ceiling Skeat, however, in his dictionary refers it to the Latin *coelum*, French *ciel*, the heaven—literally a canopy In any case the present spelling is due to a confusion of it with *ciel*

41 I mean not of, I am not thinking of

42 Mucianus, cf Essay vi 8 Cf "There is a great advantage in the well setting forth of a man's (one's own) virtues, fortunes, merits, and again in the artificial covering of a man's weaknesses, defects, disgraces, staying upon the one, sliding from the other, choosing the one by circumstances, gracing the other by expositions, and the like Wherein we see what Tacitus saith of Mutianus, who was the greatest politique of his time, *In all that he did and said he had the art of displaying himself to advantage*, which requiroth indeed some art, lest it turn tedious and arrogant, but yet so as ostentation (though it be to the first degree of vanity) seemeth to me rather a vice in manners than in policy for as it is said, *Slander boldly, something always sticks* so, except it be in a ridiculous degree of deformity, *Puff yourself boldly, something always sticks* For it will stick with the more ignorant and inferior sort of men, though men of wisdom and rank do smile at it and despise it and yet the authority won with many doth countervail the disdain of a few But if it be carried with decency and government, or with a natural, pleasant, and ingenious fashion, or at times when it is mixed with some peril and unsafety (as in military persons), or at times when others are most envied, or with easy and careless passago to it and from it, without dwelling too long, or being too serious, or with an equal freedom of taxing a man's self, as well as gracing himself, or by occasion of repelling or putting down others' injury or insolency, it doth greatly add to reputation" *Adv*, bk ii 23 30

46 excusations, cf Essay xxv 37

47 cessions, concessions

well governed, if not allowed to go too far Cf "the pride that apes humility"

52. wittily, ingeniously Cf Essay i 34 Bacon is quoting loosely from Pliny's *Letters*, vi 17 Why does Bacon so often quote inaccurately? Rawley in his life of Bacon says, "I have

often observed, and so have other men of great account, that if he had occasion to repeat another man's words after him, he had an use and faculty to dress them in better vestments and apparel than they had before, so that the author should find his own speech much amended, and yet the substance of it still retained." On this passage Mr Spedding remarks, "This is probably the true explanation of a habit of Bacon's which seems at first sight a fault, and perhaps sometimes is—a habit of inaccurate quotation. In quoting an author's words, especially when he quotes them merely by way of voucher for his own remark, or in acknowledgment of the source whence he derived it, or to suggest an allusion which may give better effect to it, he very often quotes inaccurately. Sometimes, no doubt, this was unintentional, the fault of his memory, but, more frequently, I suspect, it was done deliberately, for the sake of presenting the substance in a better form, or a form better suited to the particular occasion. In citing the evidence of witnesses, on the contrary, in support of a narrative statement or an argument upon matter of fact, he is always very careful." In addition, we may note that Bacon occasionally referred his secretary to a passage which he wanted to quote, and wrote it down as he remembered it from the secretary's reading. Moreover, in those days, scholars knew the books which they did know much better than most of us know any book, except perhaps the Bible. Quotations were freely made, and books freely referred to in conversation. The actual text was altered in the process, to say nothing of the fact that the slightest hint or indication was sufficient to recall the passage intended to the mind of the hearer. The best illustration that I can think of is the following passage from Trevelyan's *Life of Macaulay*—"When Macaulay and his sister were discoursing together about a work of history or biography, a bystander would have supposed that they had lived in the times of which the author treated, and had a personal acquaintance with every human being who was mentioned in his pages. Pepys, Addison, Horace Walpole, Dr Johnson, Madame de Genlis, the Duc de St Simon, and the several societies in which those worthies moved excited in their minds precisely the same sort of concern and gave matter for discussions of exactly the same type, as most people bestow upon the proceedings of their own contemporaries. The past was to them as the present, and the fictitious as the actual. The older novels which had been the food of their early years, had become part of themselves to such an extent that in speaking to each other, they frequently employed sentences from dialogues in those novels to express the idea, or even the business, of the moment. On matters of the street or of the household they would use the very language of Mr Elton and Mr Bennett, Mr Woodhouse, Mr Collins, and John Thorpe, and the other inimitable actors on Jane Austen's unpretending stage while

they would debate the love affairs and the social relations of their own circle in a series of quotations from Sir Charles Grandison or *Estlin* "

53 that, for 'what' Cf Essay vi 39

58 the idols of parasites, The Latin translation has, "Parasites (flatterers) prey and feed upon them "

ESSAY LV OF HONOUR AND REPUTATION

1 The winning, etc Fame is obtained by showing off one's worth to the best advantage See note on Essay vi 57 The Latin translation has "a true and well deserved reputation rests on a display of ability," etc Cf "Next to the well understanding of a man's self, there followeth the well opening and revealing a man's self (i.e. setting oneself off to the best advantage), wherein we see nothing more usual than for the more able man to make the less show

2 without disadvantage, He explains in the next sentence the two ways in which men do themselves injustice The man who does everything for effect is despised as a mere popularity hunter The too retiring man does not attract the attention which his character and abilities deserve.

3 affect, strive after Cf "affected dispatch," Essay xxi 1

5 darkon, lit 'obscure' Cf Essay ix 84

6 so as, so that Cf l. 11

they be undervalued, etc, they do not get the reputation which they deserve

8 given over, we should say 'given up,' i.e. abandoned in despair

with so good circumstance, The Latin translation has "so fitly and happily "

11 temper, mix If with actions that please one party he combine actions that please another

13 the music, etc, there will be more to sing his praises

husband, economist The word from meaning a careful manager of a house has been extended to mean a careful manager generally Similarly the Greek word *economy* means properly the management of a household "It was because a monarch or statesman was conceived to have the function of arranging the industry of the country somewhat as the father of a family arranges the industry of his household, that the art which afforded him guidance in the performance of this function was called Political Economy"—*Sidgwick* For similar extensions of

the meaning of words, cf *obnoxious*, Essay xx 105, and *engaged*, Essay xxxix 34 In one of his letters to the king Bacon says, "I was a good husband to you, though none for myself"

16 Honour that is gained, etc The Latin translation has "Honour which is comparative and depresses another" We are most famous when we succeed where others fail In a letter advising Essex to undertake the administration of Irish affairs, Bacon urges as a reason that "the world will make a kind of comparison between those that set it out of frame and those that bring it into frame, which kind of honour giveth the quickest kind of reflection"

17 the quickest, the brightest, or, to give the literal meaning of quickest (see on Essay xli 78), the most *vivid* (Latin *vivere*, to live) The word *broken* is suggested by the analogy between the collision of two rivals and the cutting of one diamond by another

18 contend, strive For the metaphor which follows, cf. "I doubt not but learned men with mean experience would far excel men of long experience without learning, and outshoot them in their own bow," i.e. beat them in their own subject *Adv*, bk ii 23 4

21 All fame, etc, Cicero, *De Petit Cons* v 17 Cf "General fame is light, and the opinions conceived by superiors or equals are deceitful, for to such men are more masked the *truer report comes from those who know them at home*"—*Adv*, bk ii 23 19

23 by declaring, etc, i.e. by making it clear to the world that his object is, etc

24 by attributing, etc Cf Essay xl 43

26 The true marshalling, i.e. arranged in the order of merit Cf Spedding's *Francis Bacon and his Times*, vol ii pp 170 1

27 sovereign honour, contrasted with 'honour in subjects,'
1 47

are, notice the plural verb It is suggested by the plural *degrees*

29 Romulus, the founder of Rome

Cyrus founded the Persian empire in the sixth century B.C.

Cæsar, Julius The Empire really dates from him

30 Ottoman, founder of the Ottoman dynasty in the thirteenth century A.D.

Ismael, see note on Essay xliii 11

33 Lycurgus, the Spartan legislator, probably in the eighth century B.C.

Solon, the Athenian legislator, in the sixth century B.C.

Justinian, the Roman emperor, in the sixth century A D Justinian is best known for his simplification of the Roman law Elsewhere Bacon says, "Justinian the Emperor, by commissions directed to divers persons learned in the laws, reduced the Roman laws from vastness of volume, and a labyrinth of uncertainties, unto that course of the civil law which is now in use" Cf also, "From the time of Augustus there was such a race of wit and authority between the commentaries and decisions of the lawyers, and the edicts of the Emperor, as both law and lawyers were out of breath Whereupon Justinian in the end recompiled both, and made a body of laws such as might be wielded which himself calleth gloriously, and yet not above truth, the edifice or structure of a sacred temple of justice, built indeed out of the former ruins of books, as materials, and some novel constitutions of his own"

Eadgar, See Green's *History of the English People*, vol 1, p 95

34 Alphonsus, Cf "King Edgar collected the laws of this kingdom and gave them the strength of a faggot bound, which formerly were dispersed, which was more glory to him than his sailing about the island with a potent fleet, for that was, as the Scripture saith, "the way of a ship in the sea", it vanished, but this lasteth Alphonso the Wise, the ninth of that name, King of Castile, compiled the digest of the laws of Spain, in titled the *Siete Partidas* an excellent work, which he finished in seven years And as Tacitus noteth well, that the Capitol, though built in the beginning of Rome, yet was fit for the great monarchy that came after, so that building of laws sufficeth the greatness of the Empire of Spain, which since hath ensued" Bacon, *Of a Digest of Laws*

36 compound, settle See on Essay xlix 17

38 Vespasianus, A D 69 79 After the death of Nero there were struggles between rival competitors for the Roman Empire, which were put an end to by Vespasian

Aurellianus, 270 275 A D, in a number of campaigns restored peace to various provinces of the Roman Empire

39 Theodoricus, born A D 455, delivered Italy from the rule of Odoacer See Gibbon, ch xxxix

King Henry VII, put an end to the wars of the Roses.

Henry the Fourth See note on Essay iv 38 He ended the struggle between the Catholics and Protestants

41 fathers of their country, Bacon is fond of addressing James by this title The Romans conferred it on citizens who rendered distinguished services to their country

48 partners, etc, cf Essay xxvii 51

49 discharge upon, shift the burden (charge) on to

51 Lieutenant, one who holds the place of another (Latin *locum tenens*), a deputy

52 favourites, cf Essay xxvii 48, and xxxvi 34 In the first of these two passages so called favourites are identified with those whom he here calls partners of the cares of kings In this class he would include Buckingham In Essay xxvii 34, they are ministers invested with authority, and are useful as standing between the king and unpopularity In this Essay he means by favourites simply the king's private friends—those whom he chooses 'as a solace,' or 'as matter of grace or conversation, Essay xxvii 49

scantling, limit.

56 execute their places, perform the duties of Cf "the discharge of thy place," Essay xi 45

sufficiency, cf Essay vi 8

60 Regulus, a Roman commander in the first Punic war Having been taken prisoner by the Carthaginians he was sent by them to Rome to offer terms of peace. These were by Regulus' own advice rejected, and he, on his return to Carthage, was tortured to death as was, Regulus was an example of this M = Marcus

the two Decii, In the war between the Romans and the Latins Publius Decius devoted himself to death in battle, B.C. 40 His son did the same in the war against the Samnites, B.C. 295

ESSAY LVI OF JUDICATURE.

5 stick, hesitate

to pronounce, solemnly to proclaim dogmas

6 by show of, under pretext

7 witty, ingenious In illustration of this Essay the student should read Bacon's speech to Justice Hutton, when he was called to be one of the judges of the Common Pleas *Spedding's Francis Bacon and His Times*, vol ii p 213.

8 more reverend than plausible, respected rather than popular Generally Bacon used the word 'plausible' in the sense of 'deserving applause' but in this passage it is rendered in the Latin translation by a word signifying 'a favourite' For reverend, see Essay xii 29

advised, cautious Cf Essay xviii 69

10 the law, i.e. the Jewish law

11 mere-stone, boundary stone

12 capital, chief

17 One foul sentence, cf *Idc*, bk ii 27 6, "One judicial and exemplary iniquity in the face of the world doth trouble the fountains of justice more than many particular injuries passed over by connivance" In the corresponding passage of the *De Aug* he says, "An unjust judgment in a conspicuous case is above all things to be avoided, especially if it involves not the acquittal of the guilty, but the condemnation of the innocent. A few crimes may be overlooked without serious consequences, but the judgment seat must not take the part of injustice"

23 for, as regards Cf II 56, 59, 115

There be that, there are some who Cf *Eccl* i 2

31 as God useth, the reference is to *Isaiah* xl 4, "Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low" For useth, cf *Eccl* xi 237

34 power, i.e. when one party is patronized by the great and powerful

great counsel, i.e. when the pleaders on the two sides are not equally matched

35 to make, in making

39 wrought, pressed Cf "I dislike that laws should not be continued, or disturbers be unpunished, but laws are likened to the grape, that being too much pressed yields an hard and unwholesome wine" *On Church Controversies*

16 He shall rain, *Psalms* xi 6 This is a favourite quotation with Bacon in this connexion

48 of long, for a long time past

52 Rawley says of Bacon, "When his office called him, as he was of the king's council learned, to charge any offenders, either in criminals or capitals, he was never of an insulting or domineering nature over them, but always tender hearted, and carrying himself decently towards the parties (though it was his duty to charge them home), but yet as one that looked upon the example with the eye of severity, but upon the person with the eye of pity and compassion"

58 well tuned cymbal, a Scriptural expression If a judge talk too much, his voice is like a discordant note in music In his *Speech to Justice Hutton* Bacon says, "That you affect not the opinion of pregnancy and expedition by an impatient and catching hearing of the counsellors at the bar That your speech be with gravity, as one of the sages of the law, and not talkative, nor with impertinent flying out to show learning"

59 grace, credit

61 conceit, intelligence, prevent, anticipate

63 to direct the evidence, The Latin translation has "to determine the order in which the proofs are taken" The more obvious meaning would be 'to determine what evidence is admissible."

64 impertinency, irrelevancy Cf Essay viii 10

68 of, for 'from' Cf Essay liii 17

glory, vanity Cf 'glorious,' Essay xxxiv 105
willingness, eagerness

69 staid, steady

74 favorites, viz., amongst the pleaders

76 byeways, The Latin translation has "indirect ways of approaching the judges." Cf Essay xi 84

77 gracing, compliment

78 fair, well

obtaineth not, is unsuccessful

80 conceit, opinion

81 civil, moderate Used much as we use it in opposition to 'rude'

84 chop with, bandy words with See note on 'chapmen,' Essay xxxiv 64.

89 ministers, attendants

91 footpace, a dais, or landing, purprise, an inclosure

95 catching and polling, greedy and avaricious Cf below, "the poller and exacter of fees," L 107 Writing about Ireland, Bacon says, "For justice, the barbarism and desolation of the country considered, it is not possible that they should find any sweetness at all of justice if it shall be, which hath been the error of times past, formal, and fetched far off from the state, because it will require running up and down for process, and give occasion for polling and exactions by fees, and many other delays and charges" 'To poll' meant lit. 'to cut off the hair from the head,' and so, to strip, to rob

110 weather, a storm

112 understanding, intelligent.

117 twelve tables, "Not in the laws of the twelve tables, but in Cic. *de Legibus*, in 3 § 8" (W) *The twelve tables*, a code of Roman law drawn up in the middle of the fifth century B C

119 in order to, such as to promote that end.

125 For many times, etc In the *Adv*, bk ii. 23 49, Bacon talks of the "influence which laws touching private right of property have into the public state" For example, the right of the sovereign to grant monopolies was often questioned in Bacon's

time These monopolies were complained of both as involving an illegitimate exercise of the prerogative, and as being burdensome to the subject In this case questions of property would be mixed up with political questions for if the law supported the claim of a monopolist it would legalize the exercise of the prerogative, and *vice versa* Consultations between king and judges were not unfrequent For instance, before commencing a prosecution, the Crown would consult the judges as to the chances of success The practice was resorted to because the Crown was discredited in public estimation if it failed in a prosecution See *Gardiner's History of England*, ch xxxiii For trench to, we should say 'trench upon'

133 that one moves, he means "one of which moves," etc

135 lions, etc In his speech to Justice Hutton, Baron bids him "weigh and remember with yourself that the twelve judges of the realm are as the twelve lions under Solomon's throne, they must be lions, but yet lions under the throne, they must show their stoutness in elevating and bearing up the throne"

140 the Apostle, St Paul, who is referring to the Jewish law
1 Tim 1 8

ESSAY LVII OF ANGER

1 bravery, boist

2 Stoics, cf Essay 1 2

oracles, i.e. directions given in the Bible The quotations are from St Paul's letter to the Ephesians, iv 26

4 in race and in time, The Latin translation has "how far and how long"

6 attempered, moderated, controlled

10 For, as regards Cf II 26, 54

14 ruin, something falling Latin *ruere*, to tumble upon that, etc, i.e. upon that on which it falls

19 put their lives, etc, Virgil, *Georg* iv 238

20 baseness, The Latin translation adds "and below the dignity of a man"

22 Only men, etc The Latin translation has "Accordingly, when they chance to be angry, let men be careful (at least if they wish to be mindful of their own dignity) to unite their anger not with fear but with contempt of those with whom they are angry"

31 construction, interpretation The meaning of the sentence is, that a man who is quick to see signs of contempt in the circumstances of a wrong done to him is easily stirred to anger Of the last sentence of the Essay

37 opinion of the touch, etc., i.e. if a man think that his reputation is affected In the *Adv*, bk ii 20 12, Bacon says, when talking of men, "who did retire too easily from civil business, for avoiding of indignities and perturbations," that "the resolution of men truly moral ought to be such as Gonsalvo said the honour of a soldier should be, of a coarser iceb, and not so fine as that everything should catch in it and endanger it" Fernandez Gonsalvo of Cordova, commonly called The Great Captain, and certainly one of the most successful soldiers of the age in which he lived, was employed by the King of Spain in his Italian wars He died at (Granada) in (December, 1575) (E)

45 contain, keep

48 aculeate and proper, pointed and appropriate to the person addressed *Aculeus* is the Latin word for a *sting* For proper, see note on Essay iii. 30

57 touched, mentioned

59 good times, The Latin translation has "a time when he is calm and in a joyful mood"

60 an angry business, i.e. something which will make him angry

61 to sever, to prevent him from interpreting the injury as a sign of contempt

ESSAY LVIII OF VICISSITUDE OF THINGS

2. Plato Of *Adv*, bk i 1, "I have often thought that of all the persons living that I have known, your majesty were the best instance to make a man of Plato's opinion, that all knowledge is but remembrance, and that the mind of man by nature knoweth all things, and hath but her own native and original notions (which by the strangeness and darkness of this tabernacle of the body are sequestered) again revived and restored such a light of nature I have observed in your majesty, and such a readiness to take flame and blaze from the least occasion presented, or the least spark of another's knowledge delivered" Plato's argument is thus—We have ideas which are prior to experience For instance, the idea of equality is a standard by which we measure perceived objects It is therefore prior to them But sensation begins with birth We must therefore have brought with us the idea of equality from some previous

state of existence It is a mythical way of expressing the truth that in the process by which experience is acquired the mind is not a mere passive recipient of impressions from without

3 sentence, the Latin *sententia*, an opinion

5 Lethe, the river of forgetfulness in the lower regions

9 the diurnal motion, &c of the heavens round the earth
Bacon himself did not accept the Copernican theory

11 the matter, see note on Essay i 43

12 at a stay, cf 'to stand at a stay,' Essay xii 47

14 merely, utterly Cf Essay iii 66

15 Phaeton, Bacon had in his mind the following passage in Plato's *Timaeus*—"Many and manifold are the destructions of mankind that have been and shall be the greatest are by fire and by water but besides these there are lesser ones in countless other fashions For indeed that tale that is also told among you that Phaethon, the child of the sun, yoked his father's chariot, and for that he could not drive in his father's path, he burnt up all things upon earth, and himself was smitten by a thunderbolt and slain—this story, as it is told, has the fashion of a fable, but the truth of it is a deviation of the bodies that move round the earth in the heavens, whereby comes at long intervals of time a destruction with much fire of the things that are upon earth

When the gods send a flood upon the earth, cleansing her with waters, those in the mountains are saved

The commonwealth has only just been enriched with letters and all else that cities require and again after the wonted term of years like a recurring sickness comes rushing on them the torrent from heaven and it leaves only the unlettered and untaught among you, so that as it were you become young again with a new birth, knowing nought of what happened in the ancient times either in our own country or in yours" Mr Archer Hind's *Timaeus*, p 71 It was a favourite idea with Bacon that civilizations have existed and perished, leaving no trace of themselves The Latin translation has "The car of Phaëton was a type of the short duration of a conflagration, lasting only for a day"

16 Elias was a Jewish prophet

was but particular, confined to a limited space

21 hap, happen

23 the oblivion, etc, past times are just as much buried in oblivion as if Cf "In all inductions, whether in good or vicious form, the same action of the mind which inventeth, judgeth, *all one as in the sense*" *Adv bk ii 14 1*

28 told Solon, viz. in the *Timaeus* of Plato See last note on Essay xxxv

32 as, that

39 Gregory the Great, Pope A D 590 604 Cf *Adv*, bk 1
 6. 14 "Neither could the emulation and jealousy of Gregory the first of that name, bishop of Rome, ever obtain the opinion of piety or devotion, but contrariwise received the censure of humour, malignity, and pusillanimity, even amongst holy men, in that he designed to obliterate and extinguish the memory of heathen antiquity and authors" Cf "It is commonly believed that Pope Gregory the First attacked the temples and mutilated the statues of the city that by the command of the barbarian the Palatine Library was reduced to ashes, and that the history of Lary was the peculiar mark of his absurd and mischievous fanaticism The writings of Gregory himself reveal his implacable aversion to the monuments of classic genius, and he points his severest censure against the profane learning of a bishop who studied the Latin poets, and pronounced with the same voice the praises of Jupiter and those of Christ But the evidence of his destructive rage is doubtful and unreal" Gibbon, ch xlv

that he did, etc, thus explains what the traducing or calumny was.

40 zeals, efforts of fanaticism
 do, produce.

42 Sabinian, the successor of Gregory the Great.

43 the superior globe, the heavens

44 Plato's great year, See the *Timæus*, 39 D The perfect year is when all the heavenly bodies, having accomplished their revolutions, return at the same time to the same point of the heavens from which they started in the beginning Cf "One general council is not able to extirpate one single heresy it may be cancelled for the present, but revolution of time, and the like aspects from heaven will restore it, when it will flourish till it be condemned again For, as though there were a metempsychosis, and the soul of one man passed into another, opinions do find, after certain revolutions, men and minds like those that first begat them To see ourselves again, we need not look for Plato's year every man is not only himself, there have been many Diogeneses, and as many Timons, though but few of that name; men are lived over again; the world is now as it was in ages past, there was none then, but there hath been some one since that parallels him, and is, as it were, his revived self" *Rel Medici*, pt 1 § 6

46 in renewing the state, etc., i e. in bringing the same individuals back into existence.

47 fame, see note on Essay xi 110

48. accurate, down to small details

influences, a term in astrology Cf Essay ix 8.

51 waited upon, watched

54 version, direction, literally, turning

55 lasting, In the Latin translation are added, "the season of the year, and the direction of the comets' path"

57 toy, a trifle Cf Essay xix 12

58 given over, passed over without notice The expression is used in a different sense in Essay i 8

60 suit, succession

63 it, The Latin translation has "such a circle of years."

68 orbs, literally the spheres in which the stars are set See note on Essay xv 59 Men are moved by religion as the planets by the spheres, and the spheres by one another

69 upon the rock, cf "The divine foundation is upon the rock" *Adv bk ii 23, 46* In one of his parables Christ contrasts the foolish man, who builds his house upon the sands, with the wise man, who builds it on the rock Addressing Peter too, whose name signifies a rock, Christ said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church"

70 To speak, The infinitive, used absolutely, introduces a fresh set of remarks So we say "to proceed" or "to return from this digression"

73 give stay to, The Latin translation has "delay or remedy"

75 when the holiness, etc, of "scandal of priests," Essay xvi 62 Cf "It cannot be denied, but that the imperfections in the conversation and government of those which have chief place in the church, have ever been principal causes and motives of schisms and divisions" *Of Church Controversies*

77 doubt, fear Cf Essay xxii 34

78 extravagant, the word means literally *wandering beyond bounds* The word now has the special meaning of 'passing the bounds of economy' The Latin translation has "immoderate and paradoxical"

82 authority, viz the government In mentioning these two properties, Bacon is thinking of the Anabaptists, (Essay iii 132) and of Mahomet

86 the Arians, so called after Arius, who, in the fourth century A D, taught a doctrine that was pronounced heterodox as to the nature of the second person of the Christian Trinity

Arminians, the followers of Arminius, a Dutch theologian born 1560 A D In opposition to the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination he insisted upon the freedom of the human will

87 wits, minds Cf Essay i 6

88 except it be, etc. The Latin translation has "except on occasion of political disturbances" Cf "Politics often mingle with religious dissent, not that there exists any natural connection between them, but that statesmen are aware of the advantage to be derived from the attachment of a religious party to their interests" Lingard's *History of England*, vol. vii ch 2

92 For, as regards. Cf I 163

96 To compound, cf Essay xlii. 17

102 stages, as we say 'the theatre' of a war

108 Gallo Græcia, Galatia The invasion took place B.C. 278 The Gauls under Brennus took Rome about B.C. 390

110 East and West are relative terms. A point East of one place is West of another We cannot say therefore with any certainty of observation, i.e. precision, that the movement is from East to West, or West to East

115 in respect of, cf Essay xxvii 43

118 apparent, used in the proper sense of *manifest* Cf Essay xl. 10

120 courages, cf Essay xxix 251

121 warmest, The Latin translation adds, "As is clear in the case of the Araucians, who being situated furthest south far surpass in bravery all the Peruvians."

123 For great empires, etc. Cf his Essay of *The True Greatness of Britain*, "Persia at a time was strengthened with large territory, and at another time weakened, and so was Rome For while they nourished in arms, the largeness of territory was a strength to them, and added forces, added treasure, added reputation but when they decayed in arms, their greatness became a burden For their protecting forces did corrupt, supplant, and enervate the natural and proper forces of all their provinces, which relied and depended upon the succour and direction of the state above And when that waxed impotent and slothful, then the whole state laboured with her own magnitude, and in the end fell with her own weight And that no question was the reason of the strange inundations of people which both from the East and North-West overwhelmed the Roman Empire in one age of the world, which a man upon the sudden would attribute to some constellation or fatal revolution of time, being indeed nothing else but the declination of the Roman Empire, which having effeminated and made vile the natural strength of the provinces, and not being able to supply it by the strength imperial and sovereign, did as a lure cast abroad, invite and entice all the nations adjacent, to make their fortunes upon her decays And by the same reason there cannot but ensue a dissolution to the state of the Turk."

- 127 a prey, The Latin translation adds "to other nations"
- 128 Almaigne, Germany
- 129 every bird, etc The Latin translation has "the individual birds claiming their own feathers again"
- 130 were not unlike, etc, i.e. the same would probably happen to Spain
- 132 over power, excessive power
- 139 go on to, continue to
- 140 foreseeing, making provision for Cf Essay xi 133
sustentation, sustenance
of necessity, cf Essay xiv 25
- 141 discharge upon, cf Essay iv 49
- 145 they, notice the plural after the collective noun *state*
Cf Essay xxviii 85
- 148 encourageth a war, encourage others to attack them
- 149 it, viz. the subject of changes in weapons
- 150 returns, periods
- 151 ordnance, The Latin translation has "gunpowder and cannon"
- 152 in India, The Latin translation adds "in the time of Alexander the Great" Mr Wright says that Bacon's memory seems to have been at fault for this statement
- 156 fetching, striking *Fetch* is connected with *fact*, a journey
So to *fetch* *afar off* means properly to travel a long distance
outruns the danger, The Latin translation has "anticipates the danger from the enemy"
- 159 ordnance, used in the plural as including different kinds of weapons
arietations, "Aries" was the Latin term for a "battering ram"
- 160 the commodious use, i.e. that they be convenient for use
- 163 rested upon, depended on Cf Essay xxix 79
- 164 they did put, etc The Latin translation has "they trusted to the valour of the soldiers" We should omit the *did*
When two parts of a verb might be confused Bacon sometimes takes care to distinguish them Thus he uses *gotton*, as 'got' might be confused with the past tense of 'get'
- 165 pointing, cf Essay xlv 69
- 166 upon an even match, on equal terms
- 167 battles, bodies of troops Cf "They say that the king divided his army into three battles," and, "Neither had they

brought forward their main battle, which stood far away into the heath, near the ascent of the hill' *Hist. Henry* i 11

175 his, see note on Essay vi 86

178 reduced, The Latin translation has "more accurate" The word means "kept within limits," as opposed to luxuriant or "growing wild"

179 exhaust, exhausted Cf Essay viii 36 With this passage, cf *Adv.* bk ii 10 13, "For as it hath been well observed that the arts which flourish while virtue is in growth are military, and while virtue is in state, are liberal, and while virtue is in declination, are voluptuary so I doubt that this age of the world is somewhat upon the descent of the wheel" After the word "exhaust," the Latin translation adds, "though garrulous as ever" Bacon is thinking of an age of critics and commentators, as opposed to an age of original production

181 the philology, the accounts given of them, such for instance as the circumstantial account given of the rise and fall of the island of Atlantis in the *Timæus* and the *Critias* of Plato

LIX A FRAGMENT OF AN ESSAY ON FAME

1 Fame, rumour For what follows see Virgil, *Æn.* ii 175
190 With the whole passage cf Essay vi 11

11 that which passeth, cf Essay vi 10 *sequ* *Passeth*, surpasses

14 in an anger, in a fit of anger

19 fly, i.e. attack Cf "As we use to hunt beast with beast, and fly bird with bird" *Adv.* bk ii 22 6 For fowl, cf Essay xlv 34

20 To speak, cf Essay lvi 70

21 sad, sober "Of this wisdom it seemeth some of the ancient Romans in the saddest and wisest times were professors" *Adv.* bk 23 5

22 politics, writings on politics

a place, a topic Cf Essay xxvii 5

25 discerned, cf Essay xxxvi 68

28 that force as, such force that

32 into Germany, Service was harder in Germany and the climate more inclement than in Syria The story is told by Tacitus, *Hist.* ii 80

39 Livia, see note on Essay vi 1 During the last illness of

Augustus "Livia surrounded the house and its approaches with a strict watch, and favourable bulletins were published from time to time, till, provision having been made for the demands of the crisis, one and the same report told them that Augustus was dead and that Tiberius Nero was master of the state"
Tacitus, *Ann*, i 5

41 upon, as we say 'on the point of'

42 bashaws, Pashas

43 Janizaries, see note on Essay xix. 151

men of war, cf Essay xix 149

44 as their manner is, i.e. it is the custom of the soldiers to sack the cities when a Sultan dies

45 Themistocles, This happened after the battle of Salamis in the year 480 B.C.

50 let all wise governors, cf Essay xxxv 84

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